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# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

46,488

Nick Davies Down Under

## Why aussies don't give a XXXX for the monarchy

Guardian 2 with European weather

OnLine

## Long-distance calls to the stars

G2 pages 10/13

Derek Malcolm on the latest movies

## Strange Days with Ralph Fiennes

G2 pages 8/9



The princess... will share decisions over the children

## Princess of Wales agrees to divorce but settlement wrangles go on

Edward Pilkington

THE Princess of Wales last night announced she had agreed to a divorce, opening the prospect of an end to the royal marriage within weeks.

The break has been cleared by the courts, she said she would remain in her Kensington Palace apartment, continue to share all decisions relating to the children, and carry the title Diana, Princess of Wales.

... who were given no warning. Palace sources said they regarded her wording as a negotiating ploy putting her side of the story, not a definitive picture of a settlement.

... settlement and the Princess's future role were not discussed. All the details on these matters, including titles, remain to be discussed and settled.

... indicated that some of the sticking points that may have been holding up a settlement have been overcome.

... the fact that she is now a fully free agent who acts independently of the palace and of government.



The prince... made clear willingness to split instantly

# Ulster: The gamble for peace

## Talks in June after elections

Michael White and David Sharrock

JOHN Major and John Bruton last night put all the players in the Northern Irish peace process on the spot when they met Sinn Fein's demand for an unbreakable date for all-party talks.



John Major, John Bruton, and the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring outside No 10 Downing Street yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

restored. Privately some Tories fear that, contrary to official assurances, what the two leaders condemned as "murderous IRA attacks" have gained concessions.

... speak to representatives of the British and Irish governments and we will do that over the course of the next couple of weeks.

### Three steps to peace?

March 4-15: Intensive consultations between British and Irish governments and Northern Ireland parties. Sinn Fein to be excluded unless IRA resumes ceasefire before Monday.

For discussion:
 

- the form of elections in Northern Ireland as next stage of peace process
- the structure, participation, agenda and format of all-party negotiations
- the possibility of parallel referendums in Northern Ireland and Irish Republic.

Around Easter: British government to introduce legislation to enable elections to be held in Northern Ireland and a separate Bill to set up body to oversee decommissioning of weapons.

Referendum: Where: parallel vote in Northern Ireland and Irish Republic. Aim: to gauge support for peace process based on reputation of violence.

June 10: All-party face-to-face negotiations on peace settlement, involving British and Irish governments and all Northern Ireland parties with democratic mandates from earlier election. Participants to be required to sign up to 'Mitchell 6 principles', including renunciation of violence — and in Ulster eyes a start to decommissioning.

Major gives ground, page 4; Leader comment, page 8; Hugo Young, page 9

'I am convinced that this is the path supported by the overwhelming majority of the people of Northern Ireland, who have so resoundingly rejected violence'

— President Clinton



'There are enormous difficulties in rebuilding a peace process which can inspire confidence against a background of 18 months of bad faith and stalling'

— Gerry Adams

'Establishing a commitment to peaceful means by Sinn Fein-IRA must be the priority. Until it can be resolved we would find it impossible to meet face to face with Sinn Fein'

— David Trimble

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Final deal still to be worked out — Divorce no bar to becoming king — Remarriage would cause problem for Church

# Final throes of a miserable marriage

*"I don't want a divorce, but obviously we need clarity on a situation that has been of enormous discussion over the last three years in particular. So all I say to that is that I await my husband's decision of which way we are all going to go"*  
— Princess Diana, November 1995

*"That sort of question is very much in the future and, if it happens then it'll happen, but... at the moment it's not a consideration in my mind"*  
— Prince Charles on divorce, 1994

*"After considering the present situation the Queen wrote to both the prince and princess earlier this week and gave them her view, supported by the Duke of Edinburgh, that an early divorce is desirable. The Prince of Wales also takes this view"*  
— Palace statement, December, 1995

*"Have you heard the latest episode of the soap opera?"*  
Prince Philip, January, 1996, in a secretly taped call on a mobile phone



Tensions between the Prince and Princess of Wales, pictured (top) in 1992, have inevitably affected Princes Harry and William. Attention now will be focused on Camilla Parker Bowles (left) and Prince Charles

## The future for Charles: Divorce no bar to becoming king, but remarriage may cause problems for Church

Sally Weale

**W**HILE the Queen was described as "most interested" to hear that her recalcitrant daughter-in-law had finally agreed to a divorce, the Prince of Wales must have been positively jumping for joy. After months of indecision, negotiations can now begin to bring the whole miserable affair to an end. With the principle of divorce agreed, questions still surround Charles's accession to the throne and the chances of a second marriage to the other woman in his life, Camilla Parker Bowles. According to constitutional theorist Rodney Barker, of the London School of Economics, there is no impediment to the Prince of Wales taking the throne on the Queen's death as a divorced man. Nor is there, in theory, any problem with a divorced man becoming head of the Church of England. The problems might arise should the Prince of Wales wish to marry again. While there is no constitutional objection, senior clerics, including the Archbishop of York, George Austin, have made

clear that remarriage during the lifetime of a former partner involves a distinct departure from the principles of the Church.

If and when Charles becomes king, he also inherits the titles of Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of a church which at present does not recognise divorce and remarriage under any circumstances. Charles has suggested a slight modification — to Defender of Faith — which could ease the problem.

But the public's reaction is unpredictable. In the past it has been remarkably loyal to the Princess of Wales and might find it hard to stomach another woman, in particular Mrs Parker Bowles, in Diana's shoes. Speculation that Mrs Parker Bowles could one day become Queen Camilla has been rife since news of her intimate relationship with the prince emerged in Andrew Morton's explosive biography of the Princess of Wales.

However, it was the prince's public admission of adultery in his television interview with Jonathan Dimbleby last year that suggested a second marriage could be on the cards with 48-year-old Mrs Parker Bowles. The couple met 25 years ago

and started an affair when she was already involved with Andrew Parker Bowles, who was to become her husband. Their marriage ended last year after 21 years.

Her continuing involvement with the prince was spelled out by Diana in her retaliatory Panorama interview when she complained: "There were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded."

The prince's office moved swiftly to reassure the public that the heir to the throne had no plans to remarry, presumably to head off critics who feared a marriage to Camilla would catapult the monarchy into even greater crisis.

Within 48 hours, however, the statement was watered down, leaving Charles's options rather more open than they might at first have seemed.

Palace officials let it be known that it was not a case of never, just that there were no plans at the moment. Of the three in the royal marriage, Mrs Parker Bowles could arguably be said to have been the best behaved. She has kept her own counsel, refusing to play into the media's hands, and has observed royal decorum at all times, no doubt improving her potential future mother-in-law.

But though the palace might approve, whether Charles is to marry his Camilla will depend largely on the public. In one sense the electorate is like the national mother-in-law who might not take too kindly to the new wife coming along, and much prefer the old one," said Mr Barker.

## The future for Diana: Queen of Hearts plays trump card and pushes forward her plan for good works

John Mullin

**T**HE TIMING may have surprised Buckingham Palace, but Di watchers will feel it was deliberate. There is no better way to crown a day of the inevitable tabloid headlines this morning than an appearance at a new International Red Cross charity campaign. The self-proclaimed Queen of Hearts has set down a marker.

Barbara Cartland, nonagenarian novelist and the princess's step-grandmother, was last night among the first publicly to wring her hands at the divorce announcement. "I am very upset about the whole thing. I know she has tried awfully hard to do everything right, but she could not go on as things were. All she ever wanted was love and children." But the princess is a much changed woman, moving from shy virgin, circa 1980, to marvellous manipulator of the media.

Then, in June 1994, when her estranged husband's televised interview with Jonathan Dimbleby included his adultery confession, she wrested the tabloid fronts

from him, appearing in a plunging neckline at the Serpentine Gallery in Hyde Park, London. The country was left pondering how he could dump his beautiful wife for the decidedly trumpy Camilla Parker Bowles.

Diana Spencer, aged 29 when she married in July 1981, had worked as a nanny before she was whisked into the Royal Family. She sees a rather grander role for herself now. She accepts she will never sit on the throne, but she told Martin Bashir, in his Panorama scoop last November, she wants to be seen as the Queen of Hearts.

No better way for her to do this than to step into the media spotlight at Lancaster House tonight to launch Help Ad. The scheme, linking the advertising of complementary goods, will, it is hoped, raise £2 billion worldwide for the Red Cross. The irony: this commercial method is known as brand "marriages".

Princess Diana has been assured that she will remain a member of the Royal Family and receive a hefty settlement and annuity. She will be expected to behave with decorum. Since she has said men matter little to her now, despite being linked with several that should be a minor worry.

But Julia Carling will think that unlikely. The princess's controversial relationship last year with Will Carling, the England Rugby captain, although said to be platonic, effectively ended the couple's year-old marriage. The princess says the welfare of her sons, William, aged 13, and Harry, 11, are all that concern her now. So she may step up the aim she voiced in the Panorama interview. She believes the crown should pass directly to William when the Queen dies or abdicates.

She wants to retain a roving ambassadorial role for good causes, although there is scepticism about her supposed midnight visits to AIDS victims and others suffering from serious illness. She first revealed news of her activities in a call to Clive Goodman, the News of the World's royal editor, but efforts to trace patients proved difficult.

## Diana holds strongest hand in final bargaining

### The settlement:

A title, a residence, an income for life, and full involvement in the future of their two sons

Glare Dyer  
Legal Correspondent

**M**ONTHS of hard bargaining by Princess Diana's lawyers, Mischon de Royo, preceded last night's announcement that she had agreed to a divorce, and to her claim that the palace has agreed to her main demands — to have the title

Diana, Princess of Wales, and full involvement in the lives of her two sons. She will continue to live at Kensington Palace, with an office at St James's Palace.

However, there are signs that the settlement is by no means complete. Her solicitor, Anthony Julius, said last night: "The negotiations will begin." But her agreement to the divorce almost certainly

means that the broad terms of the financial settlement have been seen up.

Diana holds an unusually strong bargaining hand because Prince Charles and the Queen are anxious for the divorce to go through as soon as possible and with the least damage to the monarchy.

Since the couple have been separated for only three years, Charles would have had to divorce Diana on the grounds of adultery or unreasonable behaviour, causing great embarrassment, unless she gave her consent. In the circumstances, she would want to be certain her financial future was secured before agreeing to the divorce.

The couple are certain to

divorce on the "civilised" no fault ground of two years' separation with consent, used by Princess Margaret and the Princess Royal. One term of the agreement will be who divorces whom. There is no provision for a joint divorce. Traditionally it has been considered more chivalrous for the man to let the woman divorce him.

It was uncertain last night whether Diana's wish to be a roving ambassador would be granted. But the provision of an office suggests she will continue to play a role in public life.

The deal will be hammered out between Mr Julius, a senior partner in the non-establishment firm Mischon de

Reys, and Charles's solicitor, Fiona Shackleton, a partner in the blue-blooded firm Farrer & Co, the Queen's solicitors. Ms Shackleton also acted for the Duke of York on his separation from Sarah Ferguson.

The deal is certain to include a capital sum to be invested to give Diana an annual income for life. She would be advised to go for a lump sum rather than maintenance payments because these would cease if she remarried.

Since the 1989 Children Act, custody and access orders are no longer made on divorce. Parents are expected to work out their own arrangements, with the courts making orders only if parents can not

agree. Charles and Diana are expected to continue to share the children equally. Last night's statement made clear that Diana would continue to be involved in decisions about their life and future.

Speculation has focused on a £15 million settlement, giving Diana £500,000 a year. But with a grace and favour residence at Kensington Palace, with staff, the sum is likely to be considerably less. It is doubtful whether Charles has sufficient wealth to meet the settlement, and the Queen is expected to contribute. As Duke of Cornwall, Charles controls assets worth more than £90 million. But he holds the duchy in trust for his successors and cannot sell assets.

Then, in June 1994, when her estranged husband's televised interview with Jonathan Dimbleby included his adultery confession, she wrested the tabloid fronts

## The fairytale love affair that turned into a nightmare

### The marriage:

From wedding of the century to Camillagate, Squidgygate and that Panorama interview

Barbie Dutter

**T**HEIR love affair had enchanted millions and the world watched with delight as they stood on the balcony and sealed their marriage vows with a kiss.

At the age of 32, the bachelor prince had finally found his fairytale princess — a shy, beautiful teenager whose

in public, and whispered private thoughts into each other's ears.

A year after their marriage, the fairytale seemed complete with the birth of their first son, William, and Diana's popularity, already unprecedented, soared to new heights.

By the time Prince Harry was born in 1984, rumours of disharmony had already begun to circulate, and by 1987 the media started to speculate about the future of their marriage.

As the public celebrated their 10th wedding anniversary, the dream couple were living a private nightmare. In August 1992, the "Squidgygate" tape scandal hit the

news stands. Details of intimate telephone conversations between Diana and her close friend James Gilbey — in which he declared his love for her and called her Squidgy — rocked the royal establishment.

Three months later came "Camillagate" — an intimate conversation between the prince and his lover, Camilla Parker Bowles.

It was considered to be only a matter of time before separation became a reality. The announcement duly followed in December 1992 with John Major's Commons statement.

Those hopeful that the private spat would abate could not have been prepared for the public squabbling which

ensued. In December 1993, Diana announced her decision to withdraw from public life. The following June, Charles admitted to the broadcaster, Jonathan Dimbleby, that he had been unfaithful to Diana, but believed that he would still be crowned king.

In October, a book by Anna Pasternak alleged that former army officer James Hewitt had a five-year affair with Diana, fuelling fresh speculation that the couple were to divorce.

Within a few weeks, Charles was seen in public for the first time with Mrs Parker Bowles, and in August last year, press reports linked Diana with the England rugby captain, Will Carling,

who later separated from his wife.

Then came Diana's devastating Panorama interview last November, in which she admitted an affair with Captain Hewitt and declared herself under attack from sections within Buckingham Palace.

She spoke of her unhappiness in the marriage but insisted that she did not want a divorce, and said she would not go quietly. In December, the Queen wrote to both the prince and princess urging them to press ahead with a divorce as quickly as possible. Yesterday's announcement means it is now only months, if not weeks, before that becomes final.

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Sandra Gregory arriving at court in Bangkok yesterday on a prison bus. She escaped the death penalty by pleading guilty to trafficking heroin

PHOTOGRAPH: APICHART WEEFAWONG

# 25 years for drug smuggler

### PM won't press woman's case on Thai trip; co-accused acquitted

Mick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok, Duncan Campbell and Rebecca Smithers

THE Prime Minister indicated yesterday that he had no plans to intervene to help Sandra Gregory, an English teacher jailed for 25 years for drug trafficking in Thailand. The co-accused, Robert Lock, from Cambridge, reacted with delight to his unexpected acquittal yesterday, although he remains in jail for a month pending a prosecution appeal.

Mr Major arrives in Bangkok this evening for a summit of European and Asian leaders, but it was made clear that he will not take advantage of contact with senior members of the Thai government to press Gregory's case. After three years in jail, Mr Lock, aged 30, left Bangkok's criminal court in buoyant spirits acquitted of heroin smuggling. Sandra Gregory, also 30, from Yorkshire, was led weeping from the court. She escaped a possible death penalty by pleading guilty. As the judge read out his verdict in a hearing which lasted barely five minutes, Mr Lock turned to journalists in

the tiny courtroom to declare: "I'm innocent and I've been proven innocent." His lawyer, Puttri Kuvavonnda, acknowledged afterwards: "I had expected a conviction". Gregory, standing a few feet away, burst into tears as the judge read out his verdict. "He's going home and I'm getting 25 years," she said. Police arrested Mr Lock, his girlfriend Ruth Billingham, and Gregory at Bangkok airport in February, 1993, as they checked in together for a flight to Japan. Mr Lock and Miss Billingham were found to be clean of drugs. Gregory was found to be carrying 88.6 grammes of heroin in condoms. She claimed that Lock had offered her £1,000 to take the drugs to Tokyo.

Police, who had acted on a tip from British embassy drug liaison officers interested in Mr Lock's previous visits to Japan, detained and charged him. Gregory received the minimum sentence the judge could impose. The former teacher and 28 other Britons imprisoned in Thailand may receive remission under an amnesty which King Bhumibol Adulyadej is to grant to mark the 50th anniversary in June of his accession to the throne. If not, Gregory will have another year to serve in Bangkok's women's prison before becoming eligible under a prisoner exchange agreement to serve out her sentence in a British jail. The judge's view, read out yesterday, the press understood

had failed to prove Mr Lock's connection with any drugs appeared to favour his chances that there will be no prosecution appeal against conviction, Mr Puttri said. Jean Sharpe, of the British embassy in Bangkok, confirmed that drugs liaison officers attached to the embassy had alerted the Thai authorities to Mr Lock, an aspect of the case to which his family has strongly objected. Gregory's father, Stan Gregory, who lives in Pitscaple, Aberdeenshire, said: "On a day like today you can imagine how we feel. What can you do for Sandra - what can anyone do for Sandra?" Mr Lock's mother Lynda, who lives in Lincoln and has been ill since his arrest, said: "It was the only verdict."



Robert Lock at yesterday's hearing in Bangkok

# OU to cut student intake

John Carvel Education Editor

THE Open University warned last night that it will be forced to reduce student intake by 15 per cent next year as a result of a £6 million cut in its grant, which will be announced today by the Higher Education Funding Council. Despite ministers' commitment to promote lifelong learning and better opportunities for part-timers to benefit from a university education, the number of undergraduate admissions will fall from 33,000 to 28,000 in 1997. "This loss of 5,000 new students is equivalent to the closure of a medium-sized university. It does not make any public policy sense," said Geoff Peters, the pro-vice-chancellor for strategy and planning. The OU had expected to be protected from the full rigour of a 6 per cent cut in real university funding introduced by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, in November. Mr Peters said ministers had supported the Year of Lifelong Learning, launched throughout the European Union this month. They had appeared to appreciate the value of the OU's distance education techniques, which

require only half the public funding given to conventional universities. Gillian Shephard, the Education Secretary, had been so enthusiastic about the opportunities for improving part-time access to higher education that last week she told the national committee of inquiry into higher education, appointed under Sir Ron Dearing, to explore how the OU approach could be adopted by other universities. However, today's grant allocation will affect student intake at the OU more severely than in the rest of the sector. On average, its 90,000 part-time undergraduates take six years to get a degree, compared to a standard three years for full-timers elsewhere. Since students who have successfully embarked on a course cannot be turned away, any cut in the total budget will fall disproportionately on the new intake. More than half the cuts next year will fall on science, engineering and computing courses. The Government had been anxious about a shortage of students in these areas and encouraged the OU to expand, but the cost of these courses is particularly high. The OU hopes to avoid compulsory redundancies by making efficiency savings elsewhere.

# MPs' icy blast for inaccurate Met Office severe weather warnings

David Hencke, Westminster Correspondent

IMPRESSIONS that the weather is getting worse may be more the product of the winds of caution blowing through the Meteorological Office than real gales. The House of Commons Public Accounts Committee has accused the forecasters of getting a growing number of severe weather warnings wrong in the last two years. One in four frost warnings were not needed and one in six were wrong while one in five severe weather and gale warnings were false alarms. The MPs are demanding a new "accuracy" standard for the National Severe Weather Warning Service and that computers should automatically check frost warnings by monitoring road sensors.

MPs are also unhappy about the "insufficiently challenging" Ministry of Defence standards applying to forecasts on Radio Four. The forecasters are claiming these as a success even though a sixth of broadcasts before the 6pm news are wrong. Last year the National Audit Office identified three business performance targets which the Met Office wrongly claimed to have met. The committee MPs said they were concerned that the Met Office's chief executive, Prof Julian Hunt, had received a £4,800 performance bonus based on false data. "We consider it quite unacceptable that the Meteorological Office's performance reports, which have been presented to Parliament, have been inaccurate and misleading for at least two years," the committee said.

## Her story

### Drugs were 'offer I could not refuse'

Mick Cumming-Bruce and Duncan Campbell

DURING her time in prison, Sandra Gregory has been learning the five Buddhist precepts, (similar to the Ten Commandments), the Thai national anthem and the grace that is said before each meal, as such dedication can help to win a prisoner remission. While she was aware of the likely outcome of the trial,

she remains hopeful that she will have to serve only a small part of her time before being released or sent back to England to finish her sentence. Born in Kent 29 years ago, she moved with her family to Sowerby Bridge, Yorkshire, where, until her travels, she bought and sold antiques. Her parents now live in a village in Aberdeenshire. In 1991, she went to Thailand intending to stay for two or three months. She liked the life and found herself a job teaching English and a flat with a western boyfriend who worked in computers. "I had a good job, good money, good food, but I spent all my money," she said. "But I got homesick and from nowhere someone turned up with an offer I couldn't refuse." Sandra Gregory is unusual in that she admitted straight away that she was responsible for the drugs she was carrying, although she had

little option since the drugs were found inside her. Most of the young women arrested in Thailand claim that boyfriends have given them suitcases to carry and they have no idea what is inside. "At the end of the day he did not force me to do it," she bluntly told reporters after her arrest. The remark was typical of a forthright personality who having pleaded guilty, wanted to be believed. The red-haired teacher said she had taken the money to help her get home after suffering from a tropical illness. She clearly chafes under the wearisome monotony and humiliations of life in a badly overcrowded prison where minutes seem like days, and at the kind of petty frustrations of a regime that allows male prisoners to smoke, but not women. She has whittled away time on the kind of chores that can help earn remission and has

found relief in what she describes as the "zany humour" of Patricia Hussein, also jailed for drug offences. But three years of coming to terms with her predicament did little to lessen the anguish of the sentence she received yesterday as Robert Lock prepared for freedom. Her 25-year sentence she acknowledged as the minimum Thai law allowed, but she added between sobs, "It's still a very long time". What seems puzzling is that someone so intelligent and mature as Gregory could find herself in such a position. But two weeks ago it became clear that, however often arrests are made, some travellers to Thailand still end up in jail: 29-year-old Lisa Smith, daughter of a Hong Kong-based insurance executive, was arrested for alleged possession of hashish and amphetamines at the end of a holiday that her parents had paid for as a Christmas present.

# Shadow minister wins libel damages

Sarah Boseley

GEORGE Howarth, the Labour MP for Knowsley North and a shadow home affairs minister, yesterday accepted an apology and damages in settlement of his High Court libel action against Guardian Newspapers Ltd. In the course of a sketch in February 1995, Simon Hoagart recounted an incident told to him by a Merseyside broadcaster, who alleged that Mr Howarth had bumped into him in a street in Soho, London. Guardian Newspapers Ltd, publishers of the article,

acknowledged in an agreed statement read in open court on the second day of the hearing that it had been a case of mistaken identity. It was said that the plaintiff bumped into a passer-by, but that instead of apologising the plaintiff had abused him using foul-mouthed language. Whoever was involved in that incident, it was not Mr Howarth. The publishers regretted the careless allegations made in the article, expressed their apologies to Mr Howarth for the distress caused and agreed to pay appropriate damages and legal costs. Before the agreed statement was read in court yesterday, counsel for Guardian News-

papers, Manuel Barca, put it to Mr Justice French, the presiding judge, that the sudden end of the case meant that one of the witnesses, journalist Alan Cochrane, would not be able to challenge from the witness box allegations that had been made against him in evidence by Mr Howarth and reported in the press and which had not as yet been the subject of any cross-examination. Mr Barca said that one could anticipate Mr Cochrane's concern about reports of court proceedings simply recording a witness's evidence before it has been challenged, particularly when he makes allegations concerning

a third party who is not one of the litigants in the proceedings. Michael Tugendhat, QC, counsel for Mr Howarth, pointed out that there was no reference to Mr Cochrane in the agreed statement. He added: "Any suggestion that what Mr Howarth has said in his evidence-in-chief is incorrect is something about which Mr Howarth would take the strongest possible objection and would be totally inappropriate." David Bady, QC, counsel for Express Newspapers, Mr Cochrane's employer, stood for the record that Mr Cochrane denied Mr Howarth's allegations.

# Watch the Giants tame the Panthers this Saturday.

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Obviously we should leave the boys to get on with what they are naturally suited to. Little things, like going to the pub and running the country. Suzanne Moore

EPITAPH FOR BOMBER: As the man who helped end ceasefire was laid to rest, politicians named day for all-party talks

White ribbons and leather mark burial

David Sharrock at the funeral of a bomber mourned by two families

"He walked frail, insignificant, shabby, miserable... and terrible in the simplicity of his idea calling madness and despair to the regeneration of the world. Nobody looked at him. He passed on unsuspected and dead, like a pest in the street full of men." The Secret Agent, Joseph Conrad.

THERE were two families burying their son Ed O'Brien, the 21-year-old IRA bomber who blew himself apart in London last week, and the town did not feel big enough to contain both of them.

The people of Gorey in county Wexford turned out to support the first family, the young man's parents. White peace ribbons were on every lapel. The other family was not welcome, but the IRA does not let a dead volunteer pass slowly from church to graveyard without paying its final respects.

More likely than not, the men of the IRA's Derry brigade had never met Ed O'Brien, but that would have made no difference to them. Nor to Pearse McAuley and Nesson Quinlivan, the Brixton prison escapees currently on bail while awaiting their appeal against extradition to Britain, who stood stiffly in the churchyard.

It wouldn't have mattered to William McGuinness, brother of Martin, or to Raymond McCartney, who has spent nearly half his life be-

hind bars for the murder of an RUC man, or to Pamela Kane, freed before completing her sentence for attempted armed robbery in a town not far from Gorey, by the Irish government as reward for the IRA ceasefire.

The faces may have been familiar to the observing plain clothes members of Garda Special Branch and the Emergency Response Unit, the republic's elite anti-terrorist unit, but to the people of Gorey, who were crammed inside St Michael's church for

Irish town 'trying to make sense of events that led to son's death'

the funeral service, they meant nothing. They were outsiders, some wearing green ribbons, hard-bitten men in denim and leather who, when the priest asked the congregation to make the sign of peace, shook hands among themselves alone.

Father Walter Forde spoke for the first family. "Their image of Ed will not be the very public image of a terrorist, but a personal one of a young boy and young man who is quiet and tough-minded, a keen and accomplished sportsman, a person who loved his family deeply."

They would be trying, like all of Gorey, to make sense of the events that led to their son's death, the priest said. "They will try to make sense of how a young man, barely out of his teens, was drawn into the sordid and terrible world of terrorism, how his misguided idealism was hijacked, reshaped and distorted by the godfathers of violence."

Blinding sunshine spilled on to the shoes of the men from Derry, their lips shaping the prayers, hands making the sign of the cross, some of them studying their fingernails or scratching their heads during Father Forde's uncompromising homily.

The coffin was brought from its resting place in the church. As the mortal remains of Ed O'Brien were lowered into the ground his mother Margaret dropped a single red rose on to the coffin, before falling back into her family's supporting arms. Across the Irish Sea in London, where her son had died, the politicians were finally fixing a date for all-party negotiations.

It was what the IRA said it wanted all along. But the men from Derry, some of whom came and stood by the graveside once the mourners had dispersed, knew it wasn't much of an epitaph for their dead comrade. You don't carve tombstones or make stirring bellads from all-party talks.



Mourners following the coffin of 21-year-old IRA bomber Ed O'Brien through the streets of his home town Gorey yesterday

Major gives ground in fixing date

Patrick Wintour and David Sharrock on implications of yesterday's announcement

JOHN Major yesterday undertook the delicate balancing act of luring Sinn Fein back into the peace process by offering an immutable date for all-party talks, but without exposing himself to the charge that he has let the IRA bomb

its way to the negotiating table. In truth there is no disguising the fact that the Government has given ground by agreeing a fixed date for all-party talks, the central Sinn Fein-IRA demand. Last week Sir Patrick Mayhew, the

Northern Ireland Secretary, in was holding out against a firm date in the Commons. Nevertheless, Major and Mr Bruton have set themselves a formidable timetable. Intensive talks starting on Monday and ending on Wednesday week are to be held in Belfast to which all parties committed to the democratic process will be asked to attend. The meetings will aim to thrash out details of the elected body, including powers and election method.

All constitutional parties have agreed to attend. Sinn Fein seems unlikely to be present unless an IRA ceasefire is announced by Monday. There is deep concern about the route to those discussions, in particular Sinn Fein's exclusion from Monday's preliminary talks, which are supposed to decide the form that Northern Ireland elections will take. Nevertheless, Sinn Fein's views can be channelled through civil servants into these meetings.

Mr Major said yesterday if the parties could not agree on the role of the elected body and its method of election in these talks, he will in effect impose his own plans. He already has a blueprint and would have preferred to announce the details yesterday. But the SDLP and the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists badly want a Northern Ireland-wide single ballot, whilst David Trimble's Ulster Unionist Party wants elections through the single transferable vote in each of Northern Ireland's 18 constituencies.

Mr Major probably leans towards Mr Trimble's option, partly because the Commons legislation would be quicker. He is also planning a bill, likely to be mirrored in Ireland, setting up a body res-

ponsible for handling the decommissioning of weapons. Both bills are likely to come to the Commons at Easter and could be rushed through. At the same time Mr Major will have to decide whether to back Mr Hume's plan for a referendum north and south of the border. However, the real problems begin once the all-party talks start on Monday June 10. There must be an IRA ceasefire by that date if Sinn Fein

is to be allowed into the talks, and the republicans will also be asked to accept the six Mitchell principles at the very beginning of the talks.

Those principles include a renunciation of violence, a commitment to exclusively peaceful means to resolving political issues, action to end paramilitary activities, and a commitment to accept the outcome of the talks.

Mr Major also highlighted a paragraph of the Mitchell report which said the Unionists would need to be reassured that Sinn Fein's commitment to democratic means is genuine and irreversible.

Mr Trimble made the same point, adding: "Until it can be resolved we would find it impossible to meet face to face with Sinn Fein. That looks as if Mr Trimble will want some decommissioning at the outset of the talks.

For Sinn Fein the communiqué fulfils its central demand, but not without preconditions. It does not like the idea of elections while the Mitchell principles are effectively decapitating the physical force republican tradition.

They know too that an early them on the talks agenda - which will have been drawn up in the absence of Sinn Fein - is how the decommissioning of IRA arms will take place as the discussion progresses.

Before the IRA ended its ceasefire it seemed just possible that Sinn Fein might have been able to sign up to all of this. Now the balance of power has swung away from the politicians of the republican movement towards the militarists, it is hard to imagine the IRA is prepared to accept the conditions that entry into negotiation requires.

Leader comment, page 8; Hugo Young, page 9

Reaction

"We believe there are strong grounds for confidence that Sinn Fein will now ask the IRA to stop their campaign" - John Bruton, Irish prime minister

"We want a permanent ceasefire... not a temporary tactical cessation of violence" - Peter Robinson, Democratic Unionists

"This is a moment of truth for paramilitary terrorist groupings - will they join in creating peace or will they isolate themselves in standing against the express wishes of the Irish people?" - Seamus Mallon, SDLP

"The two prime ministers have laid it on the line for the Republican movement - either they can be part of the process or they can continue their self-exclusion and marginalisation" - John Alderdice, Alliance Party

"This can work. At long last we now have the opportunity to debate the Mitchell principles with those who really matter" - David Ervine, Progressive Unionists

WHAT DOES PEP STAND FOR? Large stylized text advertisement for PEP (Personal Equity Plan).

Abbey National advertisement. Text: 'At Abbey National it stands for Performance, Ease and Peace of mind. Performance, because our Growth PEP has turned £4,000 into £4,808 (+20.2%) since March 1995\*. Ease, because we aim to make our PEPs as simple to open as a savings account. And peace of mind because we were the biggest new provider of Unit Trust PEPs in 1995'. Includes Abbey National logo and 'The habit of a lifetime' slogan.

Form for requesting further information on Abbey National PEPs. Fields include: TITLE (Mr, Mrs, Miss, Aft), INITIALS, SURNAME, ADDRESS, POSTCODE, DAYTIME TEL NO, EVENING TEL NO.

Nokia Digital Security Cellphones Direct Prices! Advertisement for Nokia mobile phones. Includes 'LIMITED OFFER £9.99 INC. VAT FREE CONNECTION TO VODAFONE', 'NOKIA GSM MODEL 2010', and 'FREE IN-CAR ADAPTOR/CHARGER FREE SPARE BATTERY FREE LEATHER CASE TOGETHER WORTH OVER £25'. Includes a photo of a Nokia mobile phone and the Cellphones Direct logo.

Handwritten Arabic text: 'مكتبة الاصل' (Original Library)

# Mackay's tough curbs for people with lavish lifestyles Legal aid loophole for rich is plugged

Clare Dyer  
Legal Correspondent

**T**OUGH new controls allowing people with lavish lifestyles to fund legal battles at the taxpayer's expense were announced yesterday by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay.

Legal aid applicants with wealthy lifestyles, overseas assets or complex financial affairs, will have their means tests carried out by a special investigation unit headed by an accountant.

The regulations will come in to effect from June 1 and will initially deal with applications for civil legal aid, though the Government hopes to include criminal cases as soon as possible.

The provisions include a limit of £100,000 on the amount of equity value in a house that is ignored in a legal aid assessment and on the amount of mortgage that can be offset against the value of a house. Allowances for mortgage repayments will be limited to the amount due on a £100,000 mortgage.

The moves follow an outcry over a series of cases in which apparently wealthy individuals were granted millions of pounds in legal aid, while some applicants on ben-

dit were denied it. One much publicised case was that of Jawad Hashim, who defrauded the Arab Monetary Fund of £34 million and ran up a £4 million legal aid bill fighting a civil claim to get the money back. Legal aid was eventually stopped when his full circumstances came to light.

Hashim had homes in Britain, Canada and the US, but these were not taken into account in the means test because assets in dispute in court cases are excluded. So are assets frozen by the court, as Hashim's were.

Bryce Taylor, the gym owner sued by the Princess of Wales over secret photos taken of her, was granted legal aid because money he obtained from selling the pictures was frozen by the court.

Under the new rules, the means test will be able to take account of assets belonging to friends, relatives and children but providing a "significant material advantage" to the applicant.

In the case of Kevin Maxwell, the manor house bought by his parents-in-law but occupied by him and his family would be weighed in the scales.

However, benefits of this sort would be unlikely to deny legal aid to defendants in serious fraud cases. Such cases are so expensive to de-

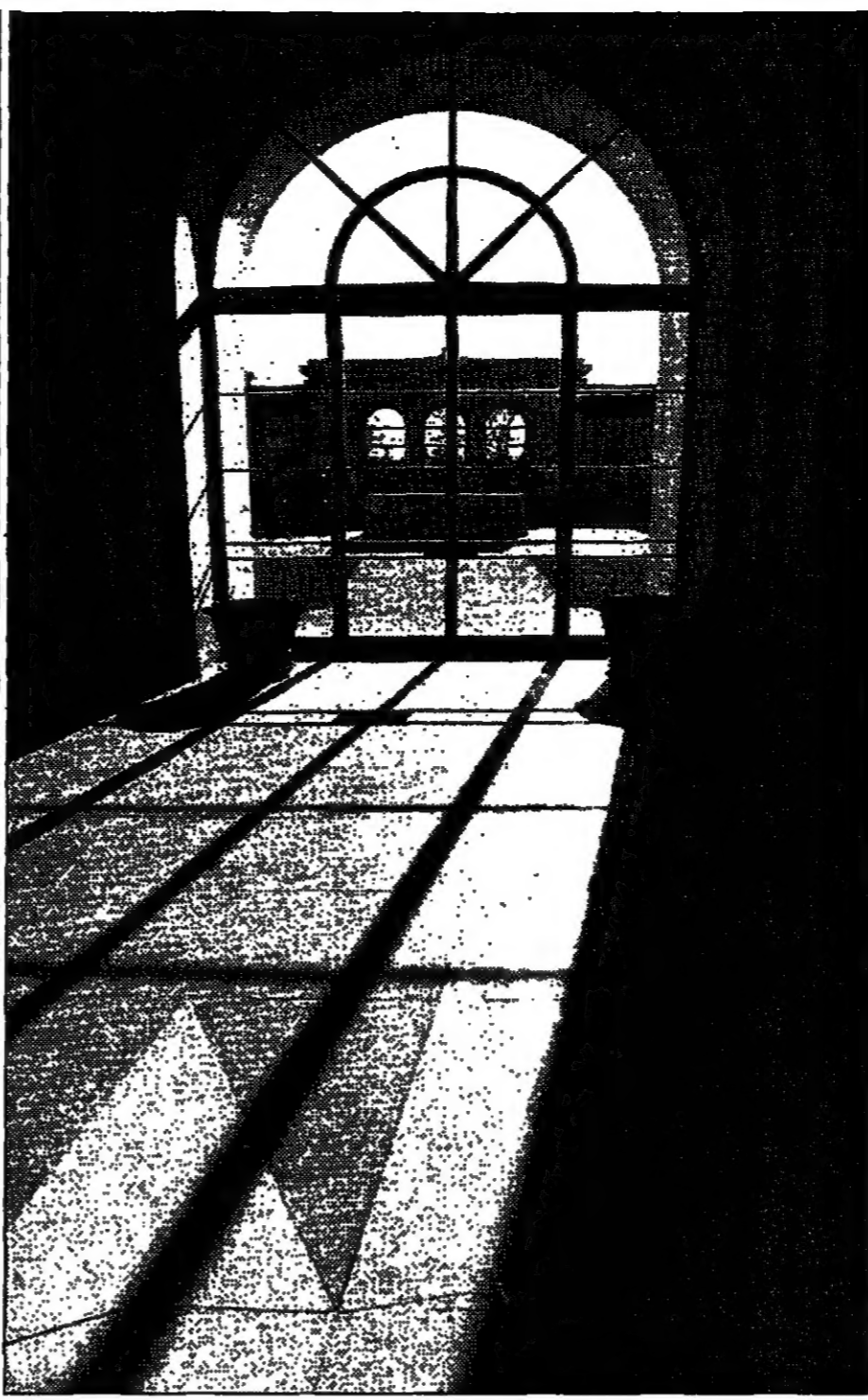
fund that only the wealthiest could fund them from their own resources.

The special investigation unit would cover cases where applicants or a partner had overseas assets, access to assets or income apparently owned by others, a wealthy lifestyle, interests in a business with substantial assets, or complex financial affairs. It would also investigate applicants who were reputed to have significant income or assets, were involved in large legal claims, or had rearranged their finances to qualify for aid.

The latest plans, originally floated in a consultation paper two years ago, were criticised yesterday by the Law Society, which claimed that some parts were unworkable and would themselves lead to legal disputes.

Martin Meers, the Society's president said: "We support the Government's long overdue proposal to take house capital into account and to establish special units to investigate means in complex cases. But some other proposed changes are unworkable.

"An arbitrary limitation on the amount of mortgage taken into account is nonsensical. The proposal to take the resources of applicants' relatives and friends into account is also simply unworkable."



Worth keeping? ... The Air Force Memorial at Coopers Hill, Surrey, which is among the buildings on which English Heritage is seeking public judgment. PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEAVER

# List system 'not saving buildings'

Maev Kennedy  
Heritage Correspondent

**E**NGLISH Heritage's system of preserving buildings was criticised yesterday by one of the country's leading architects as another 65 buildings, including the Severn Bridge, were put forward for listing.

The response from Sir Denys Lasdun was not quite what English Heritage was expecting when it invited reaction to its proposals for listing post-war buildings.

The architect's model of his College of Physicians in Regent's Park, London, is included in an exhibition of the 65 buildings. English Heritage is urging Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, to give it the second highest listing, Grade II\*.

Sir Denys said yesterday that listing had not helped two of his buildings, threatened with demolition or drastic alteration. "I am not opposed to the listing procedure, but there ought to be some respect for the buildings listed, and some means of providing funds if a listed building needs expensive work," he said.

The east London borough of Tower Hamlets wants to demolish Keeling House, his tower block in Bethnal Green, spot listed three years ago to protect it. The council says it is costing £50,000 a year just to keep it empty. The building needs structural repairs which it cannot afford.

Major alterations are proposed to the Royal National Theatre, a Grade I listed building, which Sir Denys says are a breach of faith of the terms of his design.

Martin Cherry, head of listing at English Heritage, said the purpose of listing was not

to set a building in aspic but to signal that it was worthy of special consideration. "I believe the listing has achieved that for Sir Denys's buildings," he said.

Sir Denys's complaints were backed by Paul Hamilton, designer of another recently listed building, the brutalist concrete signal box at New Street, Birmingham.

"I don't think listed buildings should become untouchable, but tastes change, and I think a considerable period of time should be allowed to elapse for the public eye to adjust before major changes are proposed.

There is still no interim protection for buildings between the recommendation and the listing being made or rejected. One of the buildings recommended in the first round of post-war listings was so extensively altered before the final decision that it was dropped from the list.

The public is now being invited to judge whether a 1960s footbridge, a 1960s crematorium, and a church with built-in saunas are worth adding to the nation's treasury of listed buildings.

The first round of post-war listings included some spectacularly unpopular commercial buildings, including the Centre Point tower in London.

The only recommendations for Grade I are both bridges, the Kingsgate footbridge in Durham, and the Severn Bridge and Aust Viaduct.

Churches dominate the list of 65 buildings, but there are also libraries, bridges, town and county halls, and a students' union and hostel.

Something Worth Keeping? is at the Royal Institute of British Architecture, Portland Place, London, from tomorrow until March 22.

# Grant for robber suing police suspended

Duncan Campbell  
Crime Correspondent

**A** CONVICTED armed robber bringing an action against the police after being shot during a raid had his legal aid suspended yesterday after a furious response from the police to the action.

Steve Charalambous, aged 35, of Finsbury Park, north London, who was jailed for five years in September 1993, intends to sue the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Paul Condon, for £250,000 compensation for his injuries. Charalambous pleaded guilty to conspiracy to rob and firearms offences after the raid in February 1993. He was

shot three times by police marksmen after ignoring calls to drop his imitation weapon.

Claiming that police committed unlawful assault and trespass to the person, he is seeking damages for pain and "emotional distress".

The Legal Aid Board said yesterday it had suspended the initial grant of legal aid to Charalambous and was seeking clarification of his action from his lawyers. "The grant was limited to gathering certain information and legal opinions about the merits of Mr Charalambous's claim against the police," it said in a statement.

Legal aid was not granted to allow him to take his case to a court hearing. "If we are not satisfied with any explanation

given by Mr Charalambous or his solicitors his legal aid will be withdrawn."

Mike Bennett, chairman of the Metropolitan Police Federation, described the decision to grant legal aid as "a world gone mad."

"We have got a system where the goodies are the badies and the badies are the goodies." His members would find it deeply demoralising if the case were allowed to proceed.

Lawyers acting for Charalambous, Joseph Hill & Co, said in a statement: "The events relating to the shooting have never been tested in court. He is as entitled as any other citizen to seek compensation if the violence was not justified."

# City claims millennium contest rigged

**L**EADERS of Britain's second city yesterday claimed the contest to stage the Millennium Exhibition was rigged in favour of Greenwich in south-east London.

Theresa Stewart, leader of Birmingham council and a director of the National Exhibition Centre, accused the Millennium Commission of succumbing to pressure from

London-based ministers. "It is a lost opportunity for the whole country. I am angry that we were invited to take part in a rigged competition."

Robin Corbett, Labour MP for Erdington, said: "They made up their minds from day one because they were in a time warp, that it was going to be in London. The NEC could start on it tomorrow."

Sources close to the com-

mission confirm that the Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine pushed hard for a London site as a way of furthering the regeneration of the Thames corridor, a project he has cherished since his days as environment secretary.

The Heritage Secretary Virginia Bottomley, said Greenwich offered the most exciting opportunities for an

exhibition about time, and for urban regeneration.

The news of the commission's choice was leaked to the Corporation of London last week by another Cabinet member with a keen interest in Thames-side developments, the Environment Secretary, John Gummer.

Mrs Bottomley, announcing the decision yesterday, said of the Greenwich peninsula

site: "We believe it could attract more visitors. It would allow a more exciting presentation of the exhibition theme based on time, as the site is on the prime meridian."

She added: "The Millennium Exhibition would regenerate an important part of south London - it would breathe new life into a wasteland close to the heart of the capital."

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# Al Fayed to resuscitate Punch

Harrods boss enters media fray but delays newspaper schemes

Andrew Cull  
Media Correspondent

**M**OHAMED Al Fayed officially declared his intention yesterday of becoming an international media baron as he exhorted Punch magazine.

The Harrods owner launched his new media company, Liberty Publishing Limited, which plans to acquire a foothold in newspapers, television and radio.

But he will not be going ahead with the launch of a new mid-market national newspaper, despite prepara-

tion of extensive dummies for a tabloid Life on Sunday. John Dux, chief executive of Liberty Publishing and former managing director of News International, said: "It is not the time to launch into the national newspaper market. It is reasonably cluttered."

The new company's first title on the newsstands will be the resuscitated Punch, killed off by United Newspapers in 1982. It will return in September under the editorship of Peter McKay, London Evening Standard columnist.

Stewart Steven, former edi-



Mohamed Al Fayed: 'won't be settling scores'

tor of the Mail on Sunday and Evening Standard, who has been appointed chairman of Liberty, rejected suggestions that Mr Al Fayed, who this week lost his High Court battle for British citizenship, would use the new company as a vehicle for settling old scores with his Establishment rivals.

Mr Al Fayed has been frustrated in recent attempts to break into the British media. His offer to purchase the now defunct Today from Rupert Murdoch was dismissed and Reuters withdrew from negotiations with the businessman as he sought to buy London News Radio.

More than 40 jobs were axed at the Independent newspaper yesterday as its management attempted to bring losses under control.

The Independent's losses are estimated to be running at more than £1 million a month.

**Notoriously, the Hubble telescope was sent aloft with a mirror that was out by one-fiftieth of the thickness of a human hair.**

G2  
Page 10

## C&G Mortgage Rate Change

### Notice to borrowers

Under the terms of our Mortgage Price Promise, C&G mortgage rates are being reduced from 1 March 1996.

March's reduction is 0.24% per annum and applies to all C&G variable base rates except base rates 179, 180, 181, 182, 183 and 184 which already benefit from lower rates.

Details of this change have been sent to customers who require written notice under the terms of their mortgage.

For loans in our Annual Instalment Review scheme, the change will be reflected in payments from March 1997.

This rate change does not apply to mortgages with a fixed or capped interest rate.

Under the terms of our Price Promise, we will review our mortgage rates again on 15 March 1996.

**C&G Cheltenham & Gloucester**

Cheltenham & Gloucester plc Barnett Way Gloucester GL4 3RL

6 WORLD NEWS

Tomorrow the war crimes tribunal will decide what to do with a detained 'Bosnian Serb general'. Ed Vulliamy unmasks its captive

Serbian lies world chose to believe

BOSNIA The SECRET War

From the Yugoslav army reveal that it intended an all-out war against any international intervention in Bosnia at a time when that was being advocated by Germany and the United States in 1991.

President Milosevic has given guarantees to successive international mediators that the army of Yugoslavia, VJ, would abandon and blockade the Bosnian Serb army, VRS.

In the spring of 1993, faced with acute American anger, Mr Milosevic promised to send the border between Yugoslavia and his blood-brothers in Bosnia, and block assistance to the VRS. His word was accepted. America pulled back from the brink.

In August 1994, Mr Milosevic promised "military and political sanctions" against the Bosnian Serbs, breaking military connections and allowing only the passage of humanitarian aid. The UN Security Council duly suspended sanctions against Serbia-Yugoslavia on September 23.

Mr Milosevic gave his word at Dayton that his army had long abandoned the Bosnian Serb warlord, General Ratko Mladic, wanted for genocide. But now we can show that Mr Milosevic's "blockade" of the Bosnian Serbs was a sieve, his assurance a giant lie.

Reports submitted to the UN Security Council by international monitors trying to patrol the Serbian-Bosnian border reveal a constant traffic of military equipment, munitions, planes and troops across the border from Yugoslavia into Bosnia.

GEN DJUKIC is, by the admission of the Bosnian Serbs, head of logistics for their army. And the monitors' reports show what a vast operation it was to bring this war machine into Bosnia.

The flood of men and weapons escalated before the bloody offensives against Bihac and Srebrenica. As head of logistics, Gen Djukic would have been pivotal.

The Bosnian Serb authorities have told the Guardian that Gen Djukic is an innocent, elderly man with a heart condition, fulfilling a workaday logistics role at VRS headquarters.

But Gen Djukic's military card is headed Vojvoda Jugoslavija, the Yugoslav army. It is stamped annually until 1996, showing the number of his military post, 2130, and its location, Belgrade. The card bears the symbol of the double-headed eagle of Yugoslavia, distinguished from that of the Bosnian Serbs by the fact that the eagle has no crown.

A second card headed Yugoslav army also attaches him to VJ unit 1089 in Belgrade, citing his address as 3 King Aleksander Kardjorjevic in Han Pjesak, just inside Bosnia, where Gen Mladic has his headquarters.

It is known that the Yugoslav military intervened on behalf of Bosnian Serbs in the early stages of the war. But the Guardian now possesses two maps which show the Yugoslav army ready to fight for Bosnia against international peacekeeping forces.

The maps, drawn up in 1991, draft an all-out war against Nato and the United Nations, directed from Belgrade. They show the various corps grouped around population centres, especially those with high Serbian populations. Units marked in yellow are Strike Forces, grouped along borders with Croatia where international forces were expected to be deployed. Units marked in pink are War Formations attached to every corps. Units marked in green are Reserve Class, ready for mobilisation. These are believed to include the infamous paramilitary formations which undertook savage "mop-up" operations under the command of gangsters like Captain Arkan.

The JNA, the old communist Yugoslav people's army, told the world that it would pull out of Bosnia in May 1992. But an extraordinary internal correspondence between Belgrade and Bosnia shows how the Yugoslav army was stitched into the war, directing the Bosnian Serb military.

On the same day, a reply came from Colonel Milan Prtnja in the Bihac area, requesting additional arms for Serbian communities in Bosanska Petrovac, Grabovo, Glamoč and Dvar, all later scenes of ethnic cleansing. One month later, on March 17, the "Serbian municipality of Foca" — one of the most savagely subjugated towns — wrote "for the personal attention of General Blagoj Adzic". Subject: Request for a new garrison in Foca. The letter offers immediate accommodation "for some 400 troops" from Yugoslavia.

ON MARCH 7, the Command of the Second Military District sent a "Report on the state of preparations for the arrival of peacekeeping forces of the UN" to the General Staff in Belgrade. The report talks about the militarisation of new police units, and the unresolved status of active military officers who are ready if needed to transfer from this service to the organs and units of the ministry of the interior. There is also an intriguing line about the insufficiency of data on weapons distributed to the population — the JNA-armed Serbian citizenry.

The same document says that one brigade, the Ninth Motorised, has been "reinforced by the 14th Garrison of Serbia and Montenegro". Thus entwined with Bosnia's war, the JNA stayed long after its declared May departure date. Munitions from the eastern towns of Vlasgrad, Zvornik and Foca were driven out or killed by units brought in from Serbian garrisons at Uzice, Novi Sad and Nis. Special police units based at Nis and Pancevo were mobilised, and would be throughout the war. Their commander in Belgrade is called "Franki" Stamatovic.

The pivotal memo came on April 24, in paragraph six of a report to Belgrade on morale in the Second Military District. It talks not about the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army but of its "transformation". It reads: "All units and institutions of the Second Military District were informed about the transformation of the JNA... Informal meetings were held by all units of the Second Military District."

It adds: "Some commanding officers wanted clarification of the status of the JNA military units, and the status of active military officers who are to be retired but have not regulated their housing problems." The officers, and those who continued to serve, need not have worried. Financially, Belgrade remained in charge and paid the salaries of officers in the Bosnian Serb army above the rank of major. Salaries rose from 500 German marks to 1,500 for the highest ranks, a fortune by Bosnian standards.

Although it agreed to accept Mr Milosevic's word and suspend sanctions, the UN knew Belgrade was lying. The Guardian has been shown copies of reports sent to the Security Council by international monitors at border crossings, showing a constant flow of armour into Bosnia until July 1995.

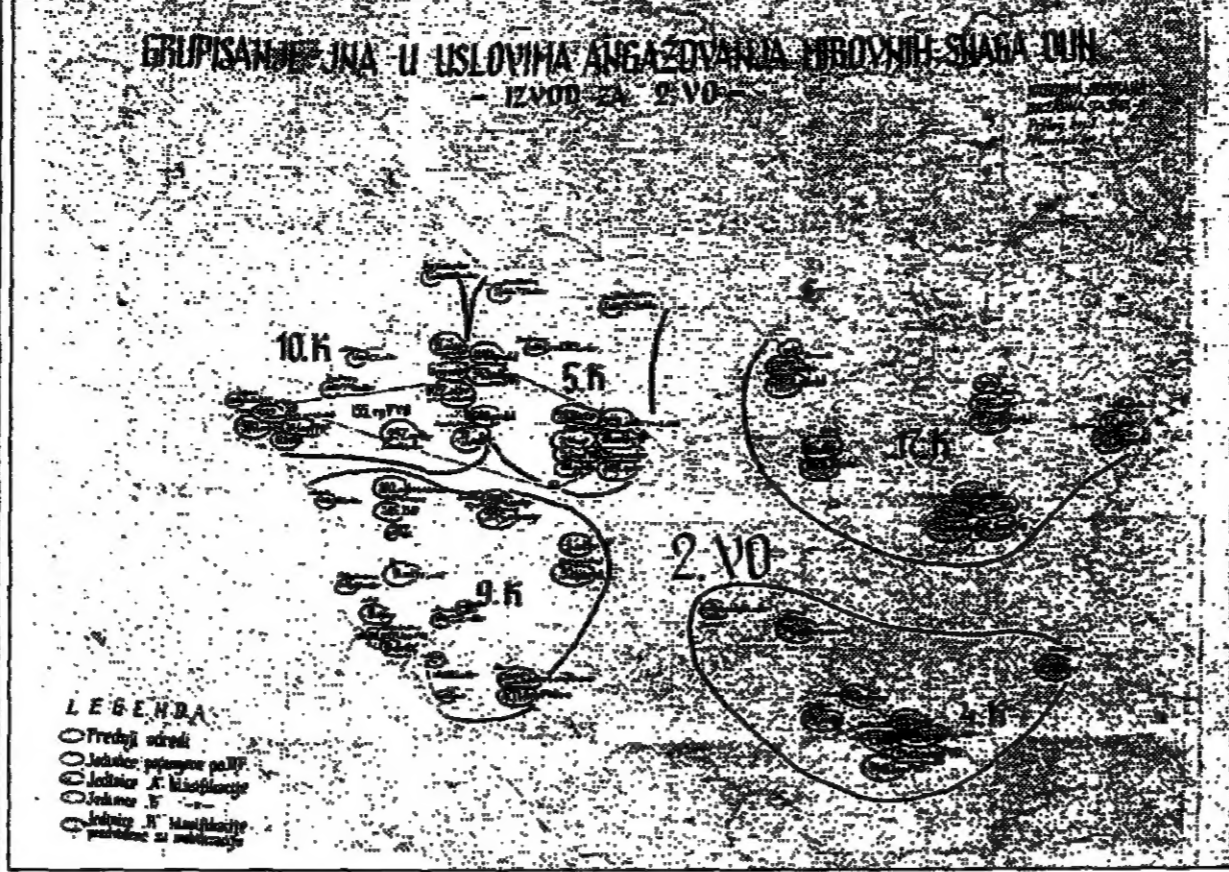
As a Yugoslav army general in charge of logistics in Bosnia, and based at the Han Pjesak headquarters, Gen Djukic would have been responsible for mobilising this tidal wave of munitions from his Yugoslav army to the Bosnian Serbs, and distributing it throughout forces which laid murderous siege to Muslim and Croat communities.

In the year up to July 1995, monitors logged 512 tanks, 506 armoured personnel carriers, 388 trucks of ammunition and 14 lorries of artillery munitions, 130 heavy mortars, 100 heavy cannons, 40 rocket batteries and 1.9 million gallons of fuel crossing from Serbia. The flow accelerated before the Bihac offensive of 1994 and the debacle at Srebrenica last year, supplemented by 33 laser-guided missiles.

The monitors saw the tip of the iceberg. In addition to usual crossing points, VJ engineers would lay pontoon bridges across the Drina river at night, and lift them before dawn. Eight locations are listed where monitors would find fresh heavy vehicle tracks leading down to the river and up the other side.

Repair work was either done in Yugoslavia, or used Yugoslav engineers, and this would have been part of Gen Djukic's war effort.

In Banja Luka last week, the Guardian asked Gen Mladic's adjutant, Colonel Milan Milutinovic, to describe Gen Djukic's role in the Bosnian war. Col Milutinovic told us his task was to "distribute bread and potatoes".



General Djukic's military accreditation papers (above) reveal him to be a general currently serving in the Yugoslav army. The card is headed Vojvoda Jugoslavija and is endorsed until 1996. The map (right) shows battle plans drawn up by the Yugoslav army in 1991 for all-out war against international forces. The army said in internal memoranda that its role in Bosnia was 'to protect the Serbian people'.

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Moves to curb veto anger Britain

John Palmer in Brussels. THE gulf between Britain and its European Union partners over the Union's future widened yesterday after new moves by France, Germany and the European Commission to ease the use of the national veto in key areas. A month before the inter-governmental conference to review the Maastricht treaty, Bonn and Paris made it clear they want to see an end to the veto even in the use of military force. Meanwhile the Commission president, Jacques Santer, said yesterday that the conference would also discuss whether new treaties could come into force even if they were not approved by all member states. Addressing the European Parliament, Mr Santer underlined the commission's determination to "see majority voting becoming the rule and not the exception in the European Union".

Britain did not disguise its dismay at the growing evidence that President Jacques Chirac of France is moving closer to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's goal of political as well as monetary union. The Franco-German proposal that the EU should have the power to launch military operations without the agreement of all EU countries. The two governments proposed that if a country disagreed with the commission on a peacekeeping mission, it should not be forced to take part but would agree not to block the action and would contribute to its cost. A senior British official

said: "This is not something which the British Government can agree to. It is not realistic to expect a country which opposes a particular military action to agree to it going ahead provided it does not take part." "On this, as on other areas, the British Government sees no case for weakening the existing national veto." Britain's isolation in the Maastricht review was underlined when Mr Santer said the commission would support a Swedish proposal to include full employment policies in the new treaty and also to seek to end the British opt-out on social policy. British ministers have said they will fight to keep the opt-out and have claimed that including employment in Maastricht would encourage economic interventionism by Brussels. Asked how optimistic he was about British agreement to greater majority voting

and restrictions on the national veto, Mr Santer said: "At this stage in a negotiation governments put forward their bargaining positions but in my experience... agreement is eventually reached. I am confident of this." But he said the review conference would have to examine the possibility that the treaty "might be implemented regardless of whether all countries have ratified it". He added: "We realise that already at 15 we cannot continue as in the past." For all their protestations of confidence in agreement on a new treaty, the commission and most EU governments accept that the Conservative Government has no room to manoeuvre. "Everyone knows that before the British election the other 14 will be agreeing among themselves. Then we hope to begin serious negotiations with a new British Government," one diplomat said.

Turkey takes another step to a coalition government

Chris Mitchell in Ankara. TURKEY again appeared close to a resolution of its five-month political crisis last night as two mainstream parties announced an agreement in principle to form a coalition government. It came four days after another agreement in principle between the pro-Islamic Welfare Party and the centre-right Motherland Party (ANAP), collapsed on the question of sharing cabinet posts. That led to the resurrection of talks between ANAP and its centre-right rival, the True Path Party (DYP) led by the caretaker prime minister, Tansu Ciller. Negotiations have failed twice in two months because of the personal dislike between Mrs Ciller and Mesut Yilmaz, ANAP's leader. They had both insisted on being prime minister first in an administration in which they would take it in turns in office. After two hours of talks yesterday, Mrs Ciller said this issue had still not been resolved but other elements of

the coalition were in place and all the details could be agreed tomorrow. "I am happy to announce that we have agreed on the issue of the outlines of this coalition," Mrs Ciller said. "We will finish the talks soon and form a government," Mr Yilmaz said. A coalition of the two parties, which hold the centre-ground of Turkish politics, will please a secular establishment eager for the stability which was lost when Mrs Ciller's coalition government collapsed last September. It was shocked by the Welfare Party's victory in the December general election and became even more alarmed when the party seemed close to forging a coalition with ANAP, which would have given the country its first Islamic prime minister. The deal could still fall apart, but the parties are close ideologically and have even spoken of the possibility of a merger. But even if they form a government, they will still need the support of one of the two leftwing parties in parliament to command an overall majority.

Early retirement for former EC official's 'deplorable' conduct

Stephen Bates in Brussels. THE former head of the European Commission's mission in Moscow, Michael Emerson, accused of setting up a private consultancy to take advantage of European Union funding in Russia while still a commission official, was allowed yesterday to take early retirement and a full pension, but his conduct was described as "deplorable". The commission's decision follows a three-week investigation launched after the American husband of Mr Emerson's Russian mistress handed letters he had written to a St Petersburg business acquaintance suggesting ways of channeling payments in gold through offshore bank accounts. Mr Emerson, aged 55, who has left his wife of 30 years, did not deny making the contacts, but claimed he had not broken regulations because he was setting up business for after his retirement. In a statement last night,

the commission said that although the investigation was not completed, Mr Emerson was being allowed to retire early with a pension — thought to be about two-thirds of his current £100,000 annual salary — because there was insufficient evidence to institute disciplinary proceedings. "In taking its decision the commission feels that the contacts which Mr Emerson made with a view to his future intention of leaving the commission are not ethical. This is deplorable but it does not justify initiating legal proceedings against him. There is no reason to believe that other transactions have taken place," a spokesman said. MEMEs who have called for an inquiry into the supervision of EU spending in Russia and Eastern Europe were still critical last night. Edward McMillan-Scott, a Conservative MEP, said: "This affair has damaged the EU's reputation and destroyed Emerson's. It is right that inquiries should continue."

Advertisement for Direct Line financial services. Text: 'Our savings rates are still higher than the Nationwide. Our mortgage rates are still lower than the Nationwide. So who really puts the customer first?' Includes tables for savings rates and mortgage details. Contact information for London, Manchester, and Glasgow. Call anytime 8am to 8pm Monday to Friday and 9am to 5pm Saturday. Please quote ref. NG1.

Handwritten text in Arabic script: 'مكتبة الامم المتحدة' (United Nations Library).

# Primaries rob Dole of his aura of inevitability

**Martin Walker**  
on the confused state of the Republican presidential campaign

**T**HE Republican presidential primaries in Arizona and North and South Dakota have checked the momentum of Pat Buchanan's rightwing insurgency, frustrated the exhausted campaign of the elder statesman Senator Robert Dole, and left the party with no clear front-runner as it heads into the next round of primaries in the South. The multi-millionaire publisher Steve Forbes won all 39 delegates from Arizona by cleverly organising absentee ballots, while Mr Dole won the primaries in the thinly populated prairie states of North and South Dakota, taking more than 40 per cent of votes in both. After his Arizona victory, Mr Forbes scoffed at pundits who he said had written his political obituary. "A week ago they wrote our obituary," a beaming Mr Forbes told cheering supporters at a Phoenix hotel. "Now tonight we can perhaps write the obituary for conventional political punditry in America." He added: "Arizona is a clear message for the rest of America. Our clear message is we are going to change the culture of Washington." The real casualty of the campaign so far has been the aura of inevitability that used to drape Mr Dole, as the party leader with the backing of Republican governors and their party machines. Mr Buchanan grimly reconciled himself to "the long march to the nomination"

after devoting a furious week of campaigning to winning a disappointing third place in Arizona, where a large population of pensioners voted for Mr Forbes's flat tax. Sending out 100,000 absentee ballot forms in December and January when his campaign had a strong lead in the polls, Mr Forbes was able to pocket almost a third of his vote early, a trick he will not be able to repeat. He spent more than \$4 million in Arizona: \$40 for each vote he won. "I can't spend \$4 million in Arizona. Why don't you guys report the truth — that this guy is trying to buy the election," a grumpy Mr Dole growled at reporters yesterday. At 72, Mr Dole is already showing the strain of a physically grueling campaign which has taken candidates from the freezing cold of New Hampshire to the Arizona desert and now back to the humidity of the South, all in less than a week. Mr Dole, who has already spent more than \$33 million, is coming ominously close to his legal spending limit of \$37 million, with the vast majority of the primaries yet to come. Unless he can nail down his victory over the next week, he will not be able to afford television ads in the crucial states of Texas, Florida and California. "Who is the front-runner? You got a very good question there," said Mr Buchanan, dependent after being convinced that his cheering crowds and impassioned support from gun-lovers and anti-abortion religious groups in Arizona had promised him victory. But the key to Mr Buchanan's continued success is likely to continue, with several competing candidates unable to rally the party's natural anti-Buchanan majority into a single block vote. Despite humiliating fourth and

**The Race**  
The winners so far

Louisiana	Feb 16	Buchanan
Iowa	Feb 12	Dole
Delaware	Feb 24	Forbes
South Dakota	Feb 27	Dole
North Dakota	Feb 27	Dole
Arizona	Feb 27	Forbes

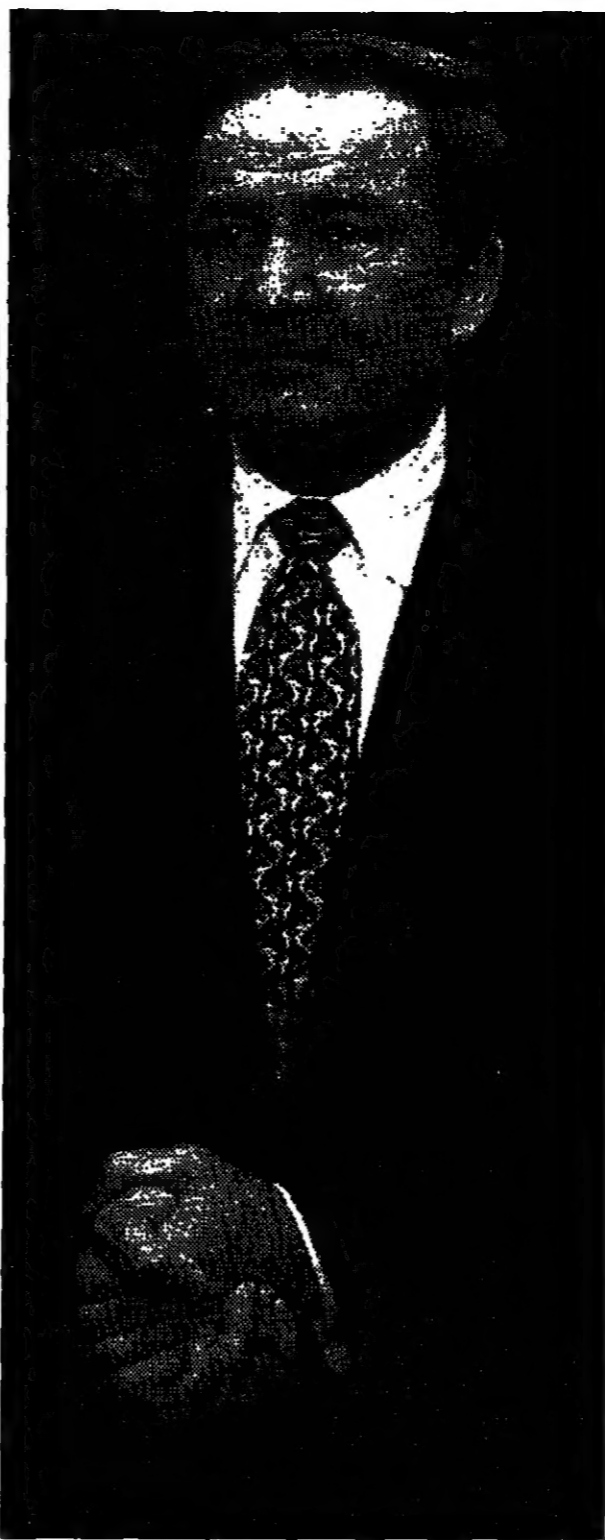


**Candidate**  
Steve Forbes 34%  
Bob Dole 29%  
Pat Buchanan 27%  
Lamar Alexander 7%

**The Schedule**  
Mar 5: Junior Tuesday  
Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Rhode Island & Vermont  
Mar 7: New York  
Mar 12: Super Tuesday  
Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee & Texas  
Mar 19: Ohio, Illinois, Michigan & Wisconsin  
Mar 26: California

fifth places in Tuesday's primaries, the former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander is still in the race. "This is now a three-way race, between a centrist candidate in Bob Dole, a very rich social liberal in Steve Forbes, and me as the populist conservative," Mr Buchanan said

yesterday. "If it stays like that, I win," he added. Mr Forbes's Arizona victory now gives him reason, as well as the bottomless pocket, to continue his run through the thicket of eight more primaries in the next seven days. It will be an uphill struggle. Opinion polls of Republicans nationally give Mr Forbes just 5 per cent of their support, against 42 per cent for Mr Dole and 27 per cent for Mr Buchanan. Mr Forbes, who is relatively liberal on abortion and homosexuality, now faces difficult political terrain as the primaries shift to the deeply religious South, which tends to be conservative on social issues. The crucial tests will be South Carolina on Saturday and Georgia on Tuesday. "South Carolina is the key to the kingdom," Mr Dole said, counting heavily on the support of the past and present Republican governors. Their own devout religious credentials may help offset the Buchanan advantage among the 36 per cent of registered Republicans in the state who say they are born-again Christians. Thanks to the Christian Coalition and the anti-abortion movement, Mr Buchanan has a firm base of close to a third of Republican voters in the South, who tend to be far more committed and activist than the average voter. About 2,000 of them crammed into the Cobb County civic centre on Tuesday night, with another 1,300 outside, in the most emotional and impassioned rally of the election year so far. Beside Mr Buchanan on the stage was the octogenarian leader Maddox, legendary leader of the segregationist movement in Georgia in the 1960s, whose political symbol became the axe handle, the weapon he used to keep blacks out of his restaurant.



Routed... Buchanan concedes defeat in Arizona and steels himself for 'the long march' to nomination

# Cuban Brothers to fly back to rescue souls

**Phil Garrison in Miami**

**T**HE Cuban exiles organisation Brothers to the Rescue will take to the air again on Saturday to lay wreaths and say prayers at the spot where two of its planes were shot down by Cuban fighters: an act of defiant homage Washington fears could lead to open confrontation with Communist Cuba. Below will be a flotilla of small boats organised by the Demogracia group, which has also flitted with danger off the Cuban coast. "This community deserves a good funeral," said the Brothers' founder, José Basulto, pilot of the only plane to return safely. "Mr Basulto seems to be a slow learner," a Pentagon spokesman said, reflecting the defence department's reluctance to become involved in an armed conflict. In the Little Havana district of Miami just off South-West Eighth Street, an eternal flame burns to the memory of the 120 or so Cuban exiles who died in the abortive US-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. After Saturday's shooting down by the Cuban air force of two light planes belonging to Brothers to the Rescue, the 700,000 Cuban exiles here have four more martyrs to mourn. But the way they died says much about the way exile politics have evolved in the past 35 years. Alpha 66, the paramilitary group which took up the banner of armed opposition to Fidel Castro after the Bay of Pigs, represents a "small minority" and is "useless for all practical purposes," said Mr Basulto. A few years ago the remark would have been

regarded as a blatant betrayal of the anti-Castro cause. But Mr Basulto, who fought at the Bay of Pigs, has unparalleled moral authority in the community as the leader of perhaps its best-loved organisation. "It's really a generational change," said Marifeli Pérez-Stable, a Cuban-American academic. "Substantial numbers of Cubans in Miami have in principle renounced violence. The people who are willing to invade are too old. Perhaps in their own way they are learning from what happened in eastern Europe how the governments there were overthrown." Founded in 1991, the volunteer pilots' group has saved hundreds of Cuban boat people from almost certain death in the treacherous shark-infested waters of the 90-mile-wide Florida Strait. But the Brothers' role evolved into a more open — though still non-violent — confrontation with the Castro government after the 1994 refugee crisis, which forced the US to reach an agreement with the Cuban government to halt the mass flight. "There is no provocation here," said Mr Basulto. "We have been exercising our right to fly in international air space. We were victims of a political hit by Fidel Castro." But Mr Basulto said he always knew that they were in danger. And although he had not counted on the planes being shot down, he conceded that the effect of the Brothers' activities — which has in the past included kidnappings of Cuban airspace — was to "provoke that man [Castro] into a rage and into a situation where he has no response".

## News in brief

### Apartheid minister faces wider charges

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S former defence minister General Magnus Malan has been charged with a wide-ranging conspiracy to murder in a trial due to open in the Durban Supreme Court next week, David Beresford in Johannesburg writes. The Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been drawn further into the case with evidence of a covert meeting with the general and senior military officers.

Gen Malan and senior officers had been charged with responsibility for a specific massacre of 19 people in 1987, allegedly carried out by a "hit squad" trained by military intelligence in Namibia's Caprivi Strip. But in a last minute amendment to the indictment, the attorney-general of KwaZulu-Natal has extended the charges to a general conspiracy to murder politicians supporting the ANC. The

amended charge sheet alleges that further training was given to the Caprivi assassins at a northern Transvaal base. The amended indictment refers to a meeting between Gen Malan, senior officers and Chief Buthelezi in March 1988 at which the defence minister "cautioned Buthelezi as to the sensitivity of their relationship" and warned him that Inkatha "should not be linked to the South African government".

### Carlos aide in Berlin trial

**J**OHANNES WEINRICH, the alleged right-hand man of Carlos the Jackal, went on trial in Berlin yesterday for the bombing in 1983 of a French cultural centre in west Berlin, an event which revealed co-operation between East German officials and leftwing terrorists. Mr Weinrich, aged 48, is charged with murder. He is accused of placing a bomb on the fourth floor of the Maison de France which killed a man delivering a petition protesting against nuclear testing in the South Pacific. More than 20 other people were wounded. Mr Weinrich's lawyers attacked the credibility of the evidence and asked for an adjournment. Prosecutors say Mr Weinrich brought the explosives to East Berlin from Romania. They were seized by East German officials. — AP.

### New gay attack from Mugabe

**P**RESIDENT Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe launched a fresh attack against homosexuals yesterday, saying he had the support of some world leaders who dared not condemn gays in their countries for fear of losing votes. He told a meeting of local church pastors that homosexuality should be condemned in the same way people spoke out against alcoholism, drug abuse and prostitution. "Homosexuality has yielded in a number of people who now, because of their numbers, have the courage and boldness to dare politicians," he said. Mr Mugabe has attacked homosexuality since last August when his government pressurised organisers of Zimbabwe's international book fair to bar a local gay association from taking part. — Reuter.

### Epidemic toll rises in Nigeria

**E**pidemics of spinal meningitis, gastroenteritis, cholera and measles have killed at least 15,000 people in northern Nigeria in the past month, Ikechukwu Madubike, the health minister, told the Lagos Guardian yesterday. He said 50 people had died every hour in the past week in Kano, the home state of the country's military ruler, General Sani Abacha. — AP.

### Curfew in Lebanon

The Lebanese army ordered an indefinite nationwide curfew, starting at 3am today, before a general strike and planned demonstrations by labour unions in defiance of a government ban. — Reuter.

### Diplomat held

Police detained a Rwandan diplomat on Monday, the night Seth Sendashonga, an ousted former interior minister in the Tutsi-led government, was slightly shot and slightly wounded in the Kenyan capital Nairobi, the Rwandan embassy said yesterday. — AP.

### Bomb plot charge

Three Egyptians, two of whom are linked to the Islamic group responsible for the New York World Trade Centre bombing in 1993, appeared in a Copenhagen court yesterday on charges of planning bomb attacks in the Danish capital. — Reuter.

### Tourist bugged

A Swedish backpacker in Australia was recovering in hospital yesterday after a cockroach crawled into his ear in a hostel in Sydney and refused to budge. — AP.

### Pakistan 'condones killings'

**T**HE independent Human Rights Commission of Pakistan yesterday accused the government of condoning extra-judicial killings, persecuting political opponents and tolerating large-scale abuses by Islamic extremists, writes Gerald Bourke in Islamabad. The HRC's annual report described the "state apparatus" as "a notable perpetrator of violence and victimisation". It expressed concern about the political and ethnic violence in Karachi where police and paramilitary

troops are fighting the Mohajir Quami Movement, the city's main party. The clashes claimed more than 2,000 lives last year. "At least 260 of them died either in police custody (apparently from torture) or in supposed encounters with the police," the report said. "There is clear evidence the state has indulged in illegal killings, torture and arrests." Asma Jahangir, the HRC's chairman said. "No one can force a government that kills its own people without recourse to the law."

**"I was pregnant when I was caught in a bomb in 1976; I was 18. Two people were killed and I lost an eye. I have a glass eye but it's very sore so I take it out at home. I reckoned the Troubles would never hit our house again."**



## You've got insurance if Johnny crashes your car. But what if he crashes your hard drive?



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## The least worst ending

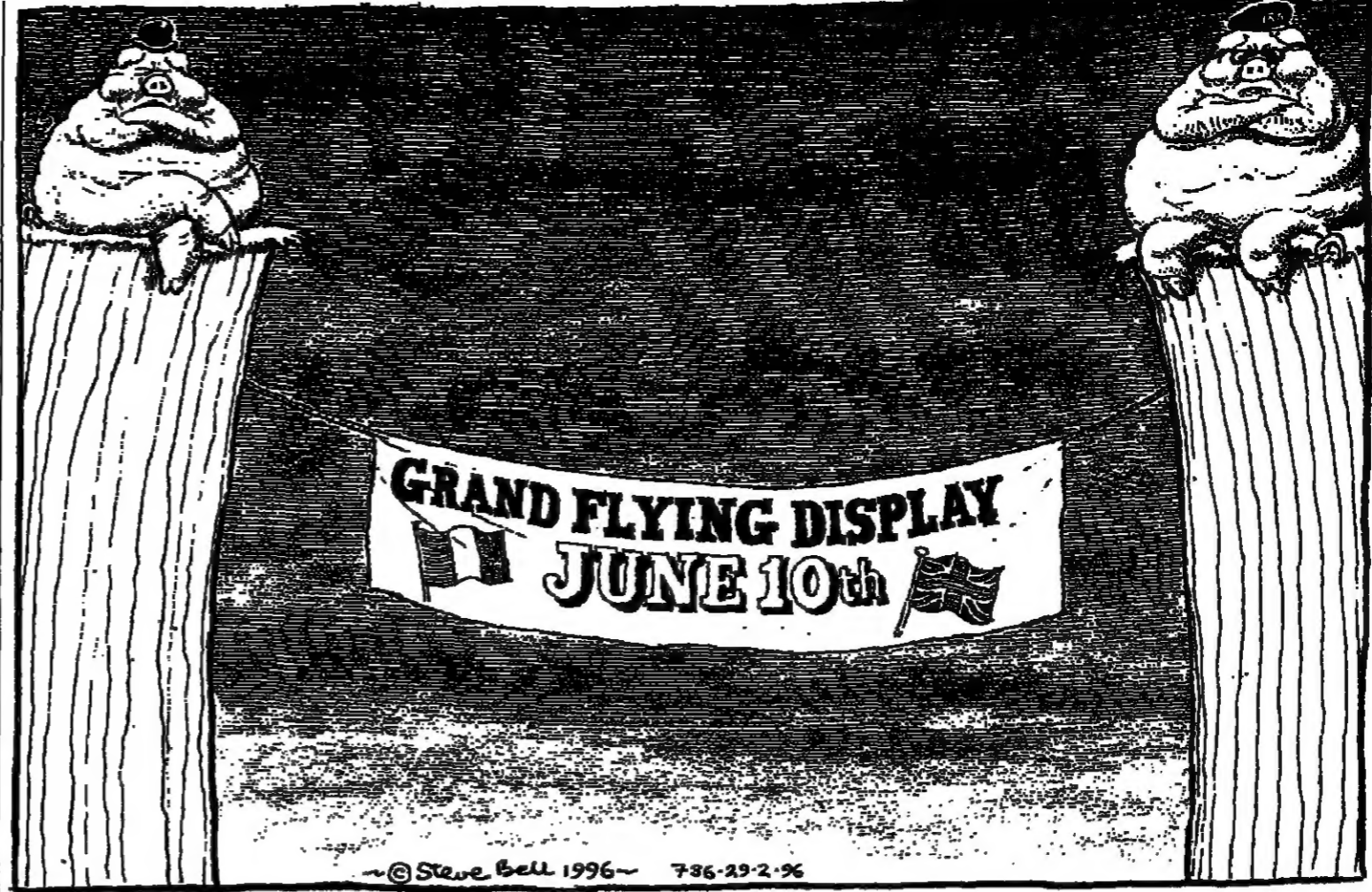
But where does the divorce leave the monarchy?

THIS afternoon in the House of Lords, peers will vote on Lord Mackay's Family Law Bill. As they prepare to cast their votes, their lordships could do worse than reflect on whether they heard last night's royal divorce announcement. We suspect that, like most of the rest of the country, they were mightily relieved that it had come at last. For the impending royal divorce is surely the most powerful support that Lord Mackay could have sought for his reforms. The royal marriage had broken down. It was irreconcilable. It was causing only grief, not least for the children. Both parties needed to look to the future. There was nothing to be gained for anyone — apart from Mr Murdoch's accountants — from dragging out the misery of those involved for more months. The story will run on in other ways, but the facts had to be faced. This is the least worst way of dealing with a rotten private situation.

This one will never go away. Fleet Street news desks will never lose interest in any of those involved. Nor is the royal family yet in the clear after the years of unwelcome publicity for its marital failures. Big players are, by all accounts, even now negotiating to kiss and tell. But last night was at least the interim end of a story which has insinuated its way into the life of the whole British nation for more than a decade. It is also the ultimate humiliation for Buckingham Palace's long-running modernising strategy. The monarchy decided that in order to survive it had to popularise itself. It went public. It opened its lives and its palaces to our greedy gaze. For a few years this was a wildly successful tactic. Britain became a royalist nation with a fervour which was rare in our modern history. But the popularisation strategy has failed. It is hard to know in which direction the troubled House of Wind-

sor can now go with any real dignity. The crisis of the royal marriage is not constitutional but it does have constitutional effects. We make up the legalities of our monarchy as we go along, happily importing a fresh family of provincial Germans every century or so, or whenever the going gets tough. If we choose to change the rules of the monarchy, then we can do so again. We can alter anything through Parliament. If we want to have a divorced monarch we can do that too, though inevitably it creates problems for the established church. But these are all things which a grown-up nation can decide. One of the great unintended consequences of the royal implosion of the past few years is that this debate is no longer marginal or irrelevant. The royal marriages have put the question of the monarchy on the political agenda. For that reason alone it is now absurd to pretend that the constitutional reform debate should or can ignore it.

A grown-up country accepts the need for divorce and ought to accept the need for a proper debate about the monarchy and its place, if any, in our constitution. The political scientist Vernon Bogdanor has recently written that a constitutional monarchy represents the nation to itself in an emotionally satisfying way. "It alone is in a position to interpret the nation to itself", he writes. But if that is the monarchy's central justification and rationale, then where does that leave the nation now? In what way is it emotionally satisfied as we approach the final tidying away of the dream marriage which now lies shattered before us? The prince and princess tried and failed. That was their personal tragedy. But they were also trying something public on behalf of the nation. That has failed too. At such a turning-point, is it not also time seriously to consider the mechanisms for constructing the British Republic?



### Letters to the Editor

## Old school, new Labour

ROY Hattersley's comprehensive review of the Mandelson book (*Bubble 'n' Squawk*, February 27) defends the traditional views of social democracy, a model of the world which is unravelling fast. Unemployment is much higher in the EU than in Britain. The Blair Revolution has its limitations. But it has one great merit. The authors understand that a new model is needed and they try to grapple with this problem.

ROY Hattersley castigates the Blair Revolution for avoiding arguments about structures, particularly in education, and focusing on standards. He claims that to ignore structures is about as sensible as the idea that getting across the river is more important than building the bridge to the other side. But crossing the river is more important and arguments about the type of "bridge" grant-maintained, selective, assisted-place, comprehensive — too often divert attention from what students can be expected to learn and to achieve.

JOHN REDWOOD (Left with no beef, February 28) asks why Labour, in power in most education authorities, is not retraining or removing unsatisfactory teachers. The simple answer is that the Conservatives' Education Reform Act of 1988 removed LEAs' power to do so. The responsibility for staffing matters now rests with governing bodies. Mr Redwood also asked why governing bodies with many Labour representatives are not taking this action either. The 1989 Education Act reduced local authority governors to a minority and, in most places, council appointments reflect party balance. Parent and co-opted community governors do not have to declare their political affiliation. There will therefore be many Conservative Party members on governing bodies with as much influence as Labour supporters.

## Scott, Socrates and some suggestions for Robin Cook

EXACTLY five years after the Gulf war and only days after the publication of the Scott report, you say that a German businessman may have helped Libya to build "an enormous underground poison-gas factory" (*News in Brief*, February 28).

MISLEADING or lies? How is it that the number employed making arms has increased from 10,000 (Sir Alan Thomas, *Guardian*, September 6, 1993, and Roger Freeman, *Guardian*, May 22, 1995) to 400,000 (Jan Lang and several other parrots)?

## Giving peace a second chance

This time it needs the widest popular involvement to succeed

YESTERDAY'S joint communiqué from John Major and John Bruton is the most important political development in Northern Irish affairs since the framework document last year. It at last sets out viable procedures which can get all the parties, including Sinn Féin, to the negotiating table to discuss the substantive future of Ulster. The process proposed by the two prime ministers has meant concessions on all sides. But that is exactly what was needed.

Labour Party to exert public pressure for the more creative approach which has now been adopted. No one should exaggerate, however. The Northern Ireland peace process is still fragile. Yesterday's announcement cleared some of the political debris out of the way, but not all of it. The governments are still putting preconditions on Sinn Féin, though they are ones which the republicans will find it hard to resist now that a date has been set for talks. The key question now is whether Sinn Féin will endorse the Mitchell report's conditions. A tough approach from the White House on visas and fund-raising would be useful pressure here.

Why did they have to wait so long? The two governments have done what they should and could have done months ago. It was always in their interests to bring the parties to the table; that was, after all, why they began the whole process. Yesterday's communiqué is a reaffirmation of the high seriousness of that need. But it also contains nothing that could not have been agreed in the autumn. If it had been agreed last September, lives might not have been lost this month.

Much also remains to be negotiated about the elections and the possible referendum. The elections are essentially a legitimising mechanism for the major unionist parties to take part in the talks. The best form of election would therefore be the one which best facilitates the involvement in the talks of the widest range of parties, especially the minority parties associated with the loyalist paramilitaries. That would probably mean a single constituency basis, with a low threshold of qualification. But the referendum proposal should also be supported. The peace process survives because the people as well as the governments want it, as our poll showed yesterday and as recent rallies have movingly proved. It is the people's peace, and they should have the chance to give it their strength.

## Cuts and thrust

FOR me, Peter Hobday, with the late Brian Redhead, epitomised the heyday of the Today programme, and indeed the best of informed radio journalism. My sincere hope is that his departure does not herald the increasing influence of the Jeremy Paxman style of interviewing, typified by the presentational style of the PM programme on the same station.

THE story of Morine Jeffers' lost-and-found purse sounded very familiar (Making a pig's ear out of a lost purse, February 28). Two weeks ago I left my wallet and gloves on the ticket counter at the Exeter St David station. Upon reaching Waterloo, I phoned Exeter and discovered to my immense relief that the wallet had been found.

THE position of the Government with regard to the Scott report was described by Descartes: "Although the ability to decide may perhaps be regarded among us men as a sign of intelligence, the will to decide must undoubtedly always come from malice, or from fear and weakness" (*Principles of Philosophy*, I, xxix).

## A team coming in from the cold

There's only one way to prove Botham's theory: a cold Test

THE FORMER England all-rounder Ian Botham, said to be the players' choice as the next England cricket supremo, may not have enhanced his prospects with his piece in yesterday's *Mirror*, suggesting that the present England XI couldn't beat a team of Eskimos. Some may find this a little impetuous. Much, for instance, might depend on the team selections of the Eskimo management, who could in their inexperience do something crass like excluding their best wicketkeeper on the grounds that he couldn't bat, despite overwhelming evidence that he usually made more runs than their specialist batsmen.

compromise might be to allow them to play under the soubriquet Greenland. Also, being famously serious people, the Eskimos might well reject a one day thrash in pyjamas, and insist on a five day encounter under the old-fashioned rules. And since few first class grounds are thought to exist in Eskimo territory, the match would have to be played in this country. This would give the England XI an advantage which could only be compounded were the match to be played in the igloo-melting conditions of an English summer. A temperature of minus 1 degree Celsius, if possible enhanced by a chill factor stiff enough to convey a feeling of 10 degrees below zero, would be a *sine qua non* for fair competition. We suggest the match is staged next New Year's Day, in Braemar. The Duke of Edinburgh, a one-time leg spinner who frequently spends his winter holidays at Balmoral, might yet be induced to sponsor it.

## Mind the gap (in your wallet)

THE story of Morine Jeffers' lost-and-found purse sounded very familiar (Making a pig's ear out of a lost purse, February 28). Two weeks ago I left my wallet and gloves on the ticket counter at the Exeter St David station. Upon reaching Waterloo, I phoned Exeter and discovered to my immense relief that the wallet had been found.

## Into the millennium out of the red

AS THE millennium approaches, Prince Charles cannot be the only person wondering whether there will be more to show from Britain's celebrations than building sites and the need to clear up after the party. With Millennium Commission funds, do we not have an opportunity to help millions of people start the new millennium on a better footing?

## Into the millennium out of the red

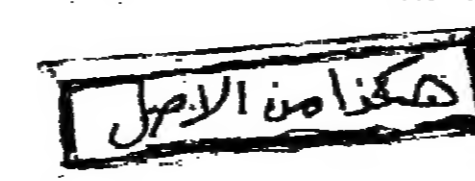
of these nations — and write off their government's debts. Actual debt and the frustration it causes can produce conflict, and the writing off of these irredeemable debts might paradoxically be in our interests as a nation. Above all, this one act could do more than any other to start the new millennium in the way we would all like to see it continue — developing peace, removing misery and bringing joy to a world whose capacity to enjoy today is limited by worry about being able to afford tomorrow.

## Cuba lever

IT IS ironic that the US administration should describe Cuba's shooting down of two planes belonging to Cuban exiles as "uncivilised behaviour" just after confiscating 400 computers bound for Cuba's health service.

## A Country Diary

BALLYVAUGHAN, Ireland: The dawn came slowly, pouring silver light across the sky, over the quiet waters of the bay. As the light strengthened, multiple shades of grey spread everywhere, toning in with the Burren's grey stone wall, its hills with their patches of morning mist. The peace was tangible, "dropping from the walls of the morning" (Yeats), the peace of natural things. However, the people of the village (population 400 about), like slightly over 98 per cent of our Republic, resolved to make a stand for peace. We decided that we, like those in the big centres, would march for peace on February 25. So, at 3pm, we gathered with others from surrounding areas in the centre of Ballyvaughan — we, the people, elderly, middle-aged, young and children, with our home-made placard: *Give Back Our Peace — Stop Killing*. One little girl had designed her own poster: the





Diary Matthew Norman

RAPE be to God... a positive sighting of a previously missing friend Dr Julian Lewis at Inst. Alan, the radio ham of TTY Central Office...

WITH exemplary timing, a minister designedly misled the Commons on the very day it voted on Scott. Asked by Labour's Neil Gerrard how many Valentines he got from us of the Gospel Oak to Barking line...

DESPITE Shagger's best efforts, Monday's show was stolen by my friend Rupert Allason, the most lionsan in all England...

NOT everyone is as convinced as I am that it seems by the Government's use of arms to Iraq. In light of the Scott report, the Cooperative Bank wishes to restate...

KEVIN McKenzie's clever plan to take Le TV even further upmarket by employing newscasters with severe stammers makes my post-bag bulge. One of countless letters comes from a notable religious figure on the kosher leprethead of his high office...

STILL Peter Bottomley refuses to name "the journalist" he denounced in Parliament last week, and still rumours sweep through Fleet Street...

IT STARTS WITH A FEW QUESTIONS ON CALCULUS. NEW DES FOR LABRANS

Blair sacrifices liberty in search of power

Commentary Hugo Young

HARD cases are the test of libertarian principles. It's pretty easy for a British politician to speak and vote in favour of free speech...

The Prevention of Terrorism Act is undoubtedly a popular measure. If, asked to support it, few people would say no, its title brooks no contest...

Andrew Foster explains why today's Audit Commission report calls for changes in police practice, with a revitalised role for the beat bobby

Stroll on, Dixon

ALMOST every survey of public attitudes to the police records a demand for "more bobbies on the beat". Politicians repeat this mantra...

Patrol cannot have much impact on some types of crime: burglars can see uniformed bobbies and wait until they have passed by...

As Princess Diana starts the final act, Norman Stone blames it on the Battenbergs Goodbye Charles, Hello! Falklands

WE WERE told that 65 per cent "approved" of Princess Diana's appearance on Panorama, airing her woes, three months ago...

abnormal, but allegedly essential, police and ministerial powers against the terrorist. These powers are draconian. Terrorist suspects can be held for seven days without a court hearing...

Under recent pressure from the European Court of Justice, which protects EU rules of free movement, the process has been slightly modified, but not so far as to diminish the ultimate and arbitrary power of the Home Secretary...

All this, as I say, raises few eyebrows. In Britain, the culture of liberty is a poor match for the discipline of security...

ute to a feeling that the streets are unsafe. Officers on patrol also symbolise lawful authority at a time when people are increasingly concerned about the erosion of values in society...

The police have a difficult job to do. The public do not want the reassurance of the foot patrol, it also demands a fast response to emergencies and a crack-down on crime...

The police have a difficult job to do. The public do not want the reassurance of the foot patrol, it also demands a fast response to emergencies and a crack-down on crime...

Countess Spencer, it is Evelyn Waugh's Bolter, on her third marriage. The Windsors should know about blood-lines. Why was this elementary rule broken?

of executive restraint were unacceptable. For this admirable stance, successive shadow home secretaries endured crude accusations of sleeping with the enemy...

Yesterday, the fire went out. Jack Straw advised the shadow cabinet that the party should no longer oppose the PTA. For more than a decade, through many waves of IRA bombing, it resisted the blackmail cry that called it soft on terrorism...

What Old Labour wanted was rule by law, not by politicians. Blair spoke for it. They weren't against an anti-terrorist law as such...

We need a partnership between police, community and other agencies. For example, youths congregating on street corners sometimes appear intimidating, especially to older or vulnerable people...

cent. The 999 system is critical to public confidence in the police, but a high proportion of calls are not emergencies: often the caller is ringing 999 in good faith, and it's better to be safe than sorry...

Public expectations are changing along with our society. People are using services in different ways. How many of us go to our bank for every transaction?

Renaissance would have slipped her a Borgias Special. Those options are not open to us, nowadays, and, since she is the mother of a future king, she will have to have some sort of public role...

Blair spoke for it. They weren't against an anti-terrorist law as such, but Blair argued eloquently for "judicial intervention" before a detainee under the PTA was kept inside for more than four days...

He accused Clarke of cancelling the separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary, and ridiculed the need to "cravenly accept" any act just because the Government called it prevention of terrorism...

None of this has happened. But Labour, in its new-found sapience, will now courageously abstain. How this is supposed to assist it against charges of being soft on terrorism, without conceding that it has been soft on terrorism for the past decade, is not clear...

This rests on the fact that the Government has set up an inquiry, under Lord Lloyd of Berwick, Blair and Straw both asked for a "bi-partisan" inquiry, but have now got one on the Government's terms...

Some people ring 999 because it's the only number they know which guarantees access to help or information. One solution raised by the commission for consideration is a public helpline covering the network of public services, health agencies and the utilities...

Public expectations are changing along with our society. People are using services in different ways. How many of us go to our bank for every transaction? The evidence is that the public will often be satisfied with the handling of minor crimes entirely by telephone...

The public has considerable faith in bobbies on the beat, and this should not be undermined. One key message of our report is not to lament the passing of Dixon of Dock Green, but to reinvigorate the role of the beat bobby to meet the policing challenges of the 1990s.

Norman Stone is Professor of Modern History at Oxford University.

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Bringing out the woman in New Labour



Natasha Walter

IN THE Beveridge Report that laid the foundations of the welfare state, women were seen only as mothers. They ensured "the adequate continuance of the British race". We can laugh, but, bizarrely, there seems to be a hangover from such attitudes even today...

New Labour has been freshly defined for us in the Blair Revolution, by Blair's close adviser Peter Mandelson and Roger Liddle. This, as correspondents have already pointed out, combines vague policy pronouncements with human interest, provided by snappy tales of five families...

So, it has not moved as far from Beveridge as its potential female supporters might expect. Bill's wife, Chris's wife and Phil's girlfriend are brushed aside, presumably they have neither working nor writing habits. Even Jane has no allegiance to working life...

Mandelson emphasises again and again that the Blair revolution must primarily seek to answer men's frustrations. "The two largest problems Britain faces are what to do about the crisis of unemployment among low-skilled men", and how to improve training standards, he and Liddle believe. And again, "Britain is a country full of frustrated talents like Phil Jones. There is a crisis of employment opportunity

MS is a disease of the central nervous system. It can affect a person's mobility, co-ordination, sight, and, above all their independence. The MS Society exists to provide practical and emotional support and fund vital research for people living with this devastating disease.

Become a Friend of The MS Society Your regular monthly gift will give us the income we urgently need to carry on supporting people with MS and their families.

which is particularly acute for low-skilled men. There is certainly a crisis of employment opportunity in Britain, but it is certainly not confined to low-skilled men. Why is the average independent income of a woman half that of a man's? What about the female homeworkers, numbering up to a million according to the National Group on Homeworking, who do piecework for as little as 50p an hour?

Mandelson also takes us to meet two more families: one dual-income, in which the woman's ambitions are left blank next to the detailed needs of her husband and sons; and one headed by a woman, Eileen has two sons, and a daughter who is a single mother on benefit. Under a Labour government, Mandelson predicts, Eileen's sons will move swiftly upwards through better training and employment; but their poor sister will still need her brothers' help to get a flat.

Does all this suggest to us that New Labour's rhetoric about the family is pulling them away from responding positively to women's changing lives? The new policies that Mandelson plays with say nothing to young women looking to an equal future. The marriage grant — once suggested by Beveridge — is a gimmick, and a relic of rhetoric. The idea that grandparents should be contracted into childcare is a ridiculously limited response to Britain's desperate need for better childcare.

Yet Labour as a whole has not drifted away from equality. It is committed to a minimum wage and parental leave, which will benefit women at work and home. And next week Tessa Jowell, shadow minister for women, will launch the 1996 Labour Strategy for Women. Her views strike a chord with the young women whose attitudes to work and family life are so different from their mothers' generation.

Jowell does not assume that women's demands can ever again be subsumed into their brothers' and husbands'. She recognises our desires for more flexible working for both men and women, better rights for part-timers, more childcare provision and social-security reforms to free low-skilled women from benefit dependence. And yet the Strategy for Women is set to be only vaguely optimistic. We can be sure the paper will score highly on things that Labour will "review" and "encourage" rather than on concrete commitments.

But please, Mr Blair, when you get down to brass tacks, listen to the women in your party, rather than the men.

Advertisement for MS Society. Includes text: "MS is a disease of the central nervous system. It can affect a person's mobility, co-ordination, sight, and, above all their independence." and a form to become a friend of the MS Society.



Peter Clarke



### Casualties in battle for diminishing Navy contracts, page 12

### Orange promises a bonanza to investors, page 12

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
Fax: 0171-833-4456

# Finance Guardian

## Gas prices face new curbs

Chris Barra

**B**ITISH Gas is facing a price crackdown amid suggestions by the industry watchdog giant that the embattled energy giant has salted away £2.5 billion since privatisation for investments not needed for at least the next 15 years.

demanding an inquiry by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

Ms Spottiswoode said the cap on prices charged to domestic customers was also likely to be tightened to reflect the fact that costs were being driven down by competition.

Ms Spottiswoode said more than £2.5 billion had been accumulated by TransCo for investment despite the fact the expenditure would not be needed until 2010.

That BG adjust its prices for the next five years so as to close the gap between spending and income.

Commission cleared its use of asset depreciation — the source of the £2.5 billion — when it investigated the company in 1992.

## Private superpit hits big trouble

Seumas Milne  
Labour Editor

**T**HE future of Asfordby Colliery, expected in the 1990s to be one of the highest-producing superpits of the future, has been thrown into doubt after RJB Mining announced yesterday that it was writing off the colliery's £78 million asset value in response to difficult geological conditions.



On the ball... 'You should invest in a business that even a fool can run, because some day a fool will,' says Warren Buffett, the world's richest man.

Richard Budge, RJB's chief executive, said he was giving the Leicestershire pit bought from the Government as part of the December 1994 coal privatisation deal — "one last go".

## Meet the sixteen billion dollar man

### Mark Tran reflects on the life and times of a financier who has put Bill Gates in the middle-income bracket

**W**ARREN BUFFETT, the investment guru from Omaha, Nebraska, has overtaken Microsoft's Bill Gates to become the world's richest businessman.

ican, are alien to Mr Buffett, who has attained sage-like status — not through speculation, but by buying large stakes in companies and holding on to them. His reluctance to sell has become almost a statement of principle.

Mr Buffett has not been inflexible. USAir, British Airways' American partner and America's sixth largest airline, has been a disappointment.

## Speculation grows Hongkong Land to surrender Trafalgar

Paul Murphy

**A**HASTILY arranged set of three-party meetings took place yesterday over the future ownership of Trafalgar House amid growing speculation that Jardine Matheson offshoot Hongkong Land is ready to surrender control of the cruise liners and construction conglomerate.

## Lawrence claims coup lost him his Stock Exchange job

Das Adkinson

**U**STED Stock Exchange chief executive Michael Lawrence told MPs last night of the "coup", led by top market-makers, that lost him his job in January.

## Bank of England to strengthen regulatory arm in Barings wake

Larry Elliott and Richard Thomas

**T**HE Bank of England is planning to boost its supervisory arm following an in-depth probe into its regulatory structure following the Barings collapse.

## Local shops may be back... next to the petrol pumps

Roger Cowe

**L**OCAL shops, wiling under pressure from supermarkets for 30 years, could stage a comeback, according to retail consultants Verdier Research.

## Injecting more openness is vital

Edited by Alex Brummer

**B**ANK Governor Eddie George is right to suggest that many of the problems of financial regulation could be resolved by increased emphasis on disclosure, education and training by those working in the financial services industry.

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## Injecting more openness is vital



Edited by Alex Brummer

facade it was with the flotation details for Orange. Shares are being offered in a range putting a putative price tag of between \$2.2 billion and \$2.4 billion on the group.

## Sting in the tail

Sting in the tail

**P**RESIDENT Chirac's decision last week to force a marriage contract between state-owned Aerospatiale and the private aircraft-maker Dassault has raised hopes on the other side of the Rhine that the tortuously slow moves to turn the Airbus consortium into a proper commercial company can be speeded up.

## Orange bitters

Orange bitters

**I**F EVER the City's claims that its economic fees reflect the level of risk carries were shown to be a reality, the City's claims that its economic fees reflect the level of risk carries were shown to be a reality.

TOURIST RATES - BANK BELLS			
Australia 1.97	France 7.41	Italy 2.330	Singapore 2.13
Austria 15.15	Germany 2.1800	Malta 0.54	South Africa 5.68
Belgium 44.50	Greece 364.00	Netherlands 2.4500	Spain 182.50
Canada 2.06	Hong Kong 11.70	New Zealand 2.25	Sweden 10.15
Cyprus 0.70	India 54.70	Norway 9.55	Saltford 1.76
Denmark 8.41	Ireland 0.8525	Portugal 226.50	Turkey 97.367
Finland 8.85	Israel 4.77	Saudi Arabia 5.74	USA 1.5050

Shares rise as buoyant bank announces pre-tax profits of £661 million



'Hardest punching middleweights'... Chairman Patrick Gillam and chief executive Malcolm Williamson

Standard rejects bid talk

Roger Cowe

STANDARD Chartered, which has been at the centre of intense bid speculation, insisted yesterday that it was not interested in a merger with any other bank.

Chairman Patrick Gillam reiterated the bank's recent statement that there have been no formal talks with any other bank.

Chief executive Malcolm Williamson dismissed suggestions that Standard Chartered was not big enough to compete, saying it was in a good position to take advantage of Asian growth.

Standard Chartered is still in talks with Asian buyers of its securities business, which is thought to have been responsible for the bulk of the loss.

Mr Williamson said the bank was well positioned to benefit from Asian growth, which is expected by the International Monetary Fund to reach 57 per cent during the second half of the decade.

Orange pitches its flotation price deliberately low

Lisa Buckingham

ORANGE, the mobile phones firm, yesterday promised a bonanza to investors after setting the price of its shares up to a fifth lower than market analysts had suggested they were worth.

That would value the group — which accounts for one in 14 mobile phones — at between £2.2 billion and £2.4 billion against analysts' expectations of about £2.8 billion.

Orange, whose major rivals are Cellnet and Vodafone, said yesterday that 775,000 share options which represent the first handout in a three-year performance cycle for Mr Snook and the two other executive directors will be valued at the mid-market price on the first day's trading rather than the offer price.

Orange facts

- Orange has 440,000 subscribers. Each subscriber generates an average £37 revenue a month. Vodafone is the mobile phone market leader with 43 per cent, Cellnet has 42 per cent, Mercury One 2 One has 7.3 per cent and Orange has 7 per cent.

Despite its imminent large market capitalisation, Orange, which began its digital mobile phone operation in 1994, has yet to make a profit. The company says that the rate at which its customers fall off — "churn" — and its growth are better than its rivals.

Yarrow boost hits Vosper

Ernest Clouston

YARROW Shipbuilders was yesterday awarded the Royal Navy's final contract for three Type-23 frigates, bringing huge relief to the Clyde and putting a question mark over the long-term future of rival bidders Vosper Thornycroft.

South African corvettes and then, briefly, managing director Murray Easton who resigned for a mysterious reason at the end of the summer.

Yesterday's announcement gives one of Scotland's top three private sector employers a degree of immunity against further cuts in defence spending.

News in brief

Drought crisis costs water firm £47m

THE relentless drought in the central Pennines is to knock a £47 million hole in Yorkshire Water's accounts for the current year, the company announced yesterday in a statement issued to shareholders.

Hanson deal raises \$500m

HANSON yesterday raised \$500 million from the sale of part of its Cavenham timber interests, a price which exceeded what observers have been expecting.

Almost Total share sale

THE French government is selling 99 per cent of its stake in the Total oil company, the finance ministry said yesterday.

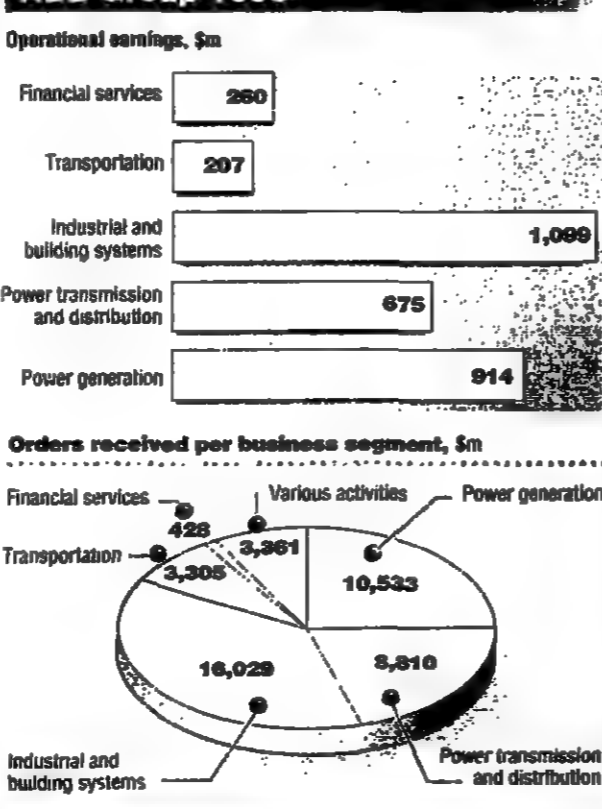
Thai aircraft contract

ROLLS-ROYCE and General Electric are to benefit from a \$5 billion (£3.25 billion) aircraft deal being negotiated by the Thai state airline.

Japan bank writes off £5bn

TOKAI, one of Japan's largest banks, is to write off about 800 billion yen (£5 billion) of problem loans this year in a move to bring its bad debts under control.

ABB Group 1995



Rail tunnel collapse helps blow hole in BICC figures

Berlin factory is being closed and BICC warned yesterday: The latest round of contract awards from the power utilities show no sign of any price recovery and the company's options for further action are under review.

The cables operation suffered significant losses in Germany, where the company said prices have fallen dramatically. As a result, the

Swiss get into bed with Swedes

Outlook

Mark Milner in Warsaw

BY ITS own account, the Swiss-Swedish engineering conglomerate ABB yesterday "turned an important page" in its history.

managing director of Goldman Sachs International, and Lodewijk van Wecham, chairman of Royal Dutch Petroleum.

well in these areas with high profile contracts for power stations and transportation systems.

western Europe and the US." Mr Barnevik, to use his own phrase, is looking to re-industrialise the industrial world.

The Underside

Dan Atkinson

THE temperature in the cold war between Gordon Brown and the Institute for Fiscal Studies has risen a few degrees after their rather public spat at the time of the Budget.

profile of suit-in-chief Adair Turner, particularly when compared to his predecessor, Howard Davies, now Europe's man in the Bank of England.



MANAGEMENT drive (2): Is there no end to the rampant spread of "new" Labour's "stakeholder" society? Anderson Consulting, the giant management consultancy group, waxes lyrical about its recent success in Europe, suggesting this owes as much to its commitment as a "stakeholder in customers' success as it did to bottom-line savings.

holding entails do little to enlighten putative followers of this exciting concept. In stakeholding for the National building society, Andersen helped "create a vision of the future of financial retailing... through an interactive multimedia-media (sic) based system."

PETER Williams is bracing himself for the inevitable allusions to the 1968 film The Producers as he prepares for next week's launch of the Gabriel Fund, billed as a lower-than-usual-risk route for would-be theatrical angels keen to help bankroll the nation's drama.

Newb for Wi

N

follow with

Results

TAUNTON

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

Racing

Newbury return for Williams

Chris Hawkins
NORMAN WILLIAMSON has been given the green light by Dr Michael Turner, the Jockey Club's chief medical officer, and can return to the saddle at Newbury tomorrow after dislocating his shoulder nearly three weeks ago.

The Jockey Club took stick like this for years, some well deserved, of course, but it has always been easy to jeer from the sidelines. Criticism of ruling bodies is a virtue of democracy, but the BHB has been assailed on so many fronts that an impression has grown of a governing body out of touch with grass roots and reality.

and through Sunday fixtures arranged in blocks rather than random days. Evening racing reached a high in 1988 when there were 218 fixtures. This was cut to 191 this year and there will be a further "marginal decrease" in 1997, according to the BHB's race-planning experts.

"The main change will be that evening racing will take place on four nights a week instead of the current five nights," said Greaves. "But there will be three meetings instead of two."

"The BHB is treading a difficult path, not to say a minefield. Lack of finance is the biggest problem and while the board has tried to help racecourses by widening public appeal with Sunday and evening racing, the off-course betting industry, which provides the lifeblood through the Levy, has suffered."

Bookmakers have not been slow to make the BHB aware of the error of its ways and have highlighted the fact that a customer-friendly fixture list is potentially disastrous. To its credit, the BHB appears to have taken heed and, in recent discussions with the bookmakers over how the one per cent cut to betting duty was to be split, has conceded that the 1997 fixture list should be made more betting friendly.

This will be done principally through less evening racing when betting shops open but punters do not exist in the same numbers as they do in the afternoons —

Nottingham runners and riders

Chainsaw manure... Keith Jones, whose father also maintained the Cheltenham fences, spruces up the obstacles in readiness for next month's Festival.

2.50 Peter Panther 2.50 Silverfox 2.50 Woodford Gale 2.50 Disco Dea Motion 2.50 Joke

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Ludlow with form for the Jackpot races

2.00 Hot Brown 2.00 Ready To Draw 2.00 Torch Oak 2.00 Perfection Royale

4.00 Necessary King 4.00 Ready To Draw 4.00 Torch Oak 4.00 Perfection Royale

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Lingfield AW Flat

2.10 BRIGHTON BURNING STAKES 5YO 2m 11yo 22,764

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Rugby League

Aussie season is postponed

ONLY a few days ago the ARL was planning on having 20 rugby league fixtures in Australia over the start of two competitions, due to begin tomorrow. Now there is none.

The best the fans can hope for this weekend is a series of exhibition games as a result of the decision of the Australian Rugby League to delay the start of the season for two weeks.

Rugby League

On Tuesday the start of Super League was postponed — indefinitely perhaps — after Justice James Burchett had ruled the competition illegal last Friday.

The Super League, backed by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, has lodged an appeal that will be heard next week.

Rugby League

Ken Arthurson, the chairman of the ARL, was confident that his competition would start this week as planned but by boycotting two meetings called by the ARL, the eight clubs have made that impossible.

"The rebel clubs seem unconcerned at the damage that has been done to the game," said Arthurson. "They don't seem concerned at the repairs the ARL is trying to implement."

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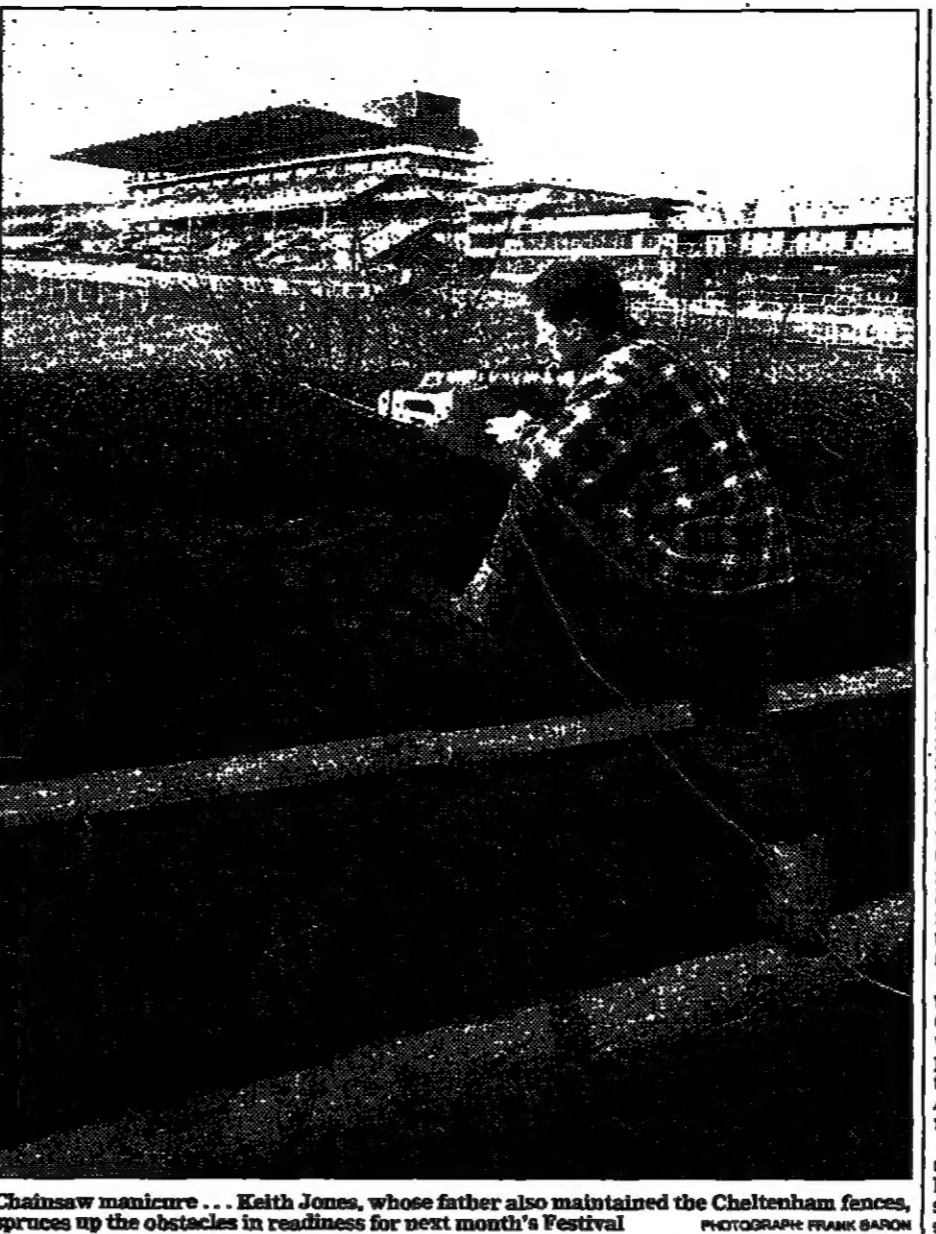
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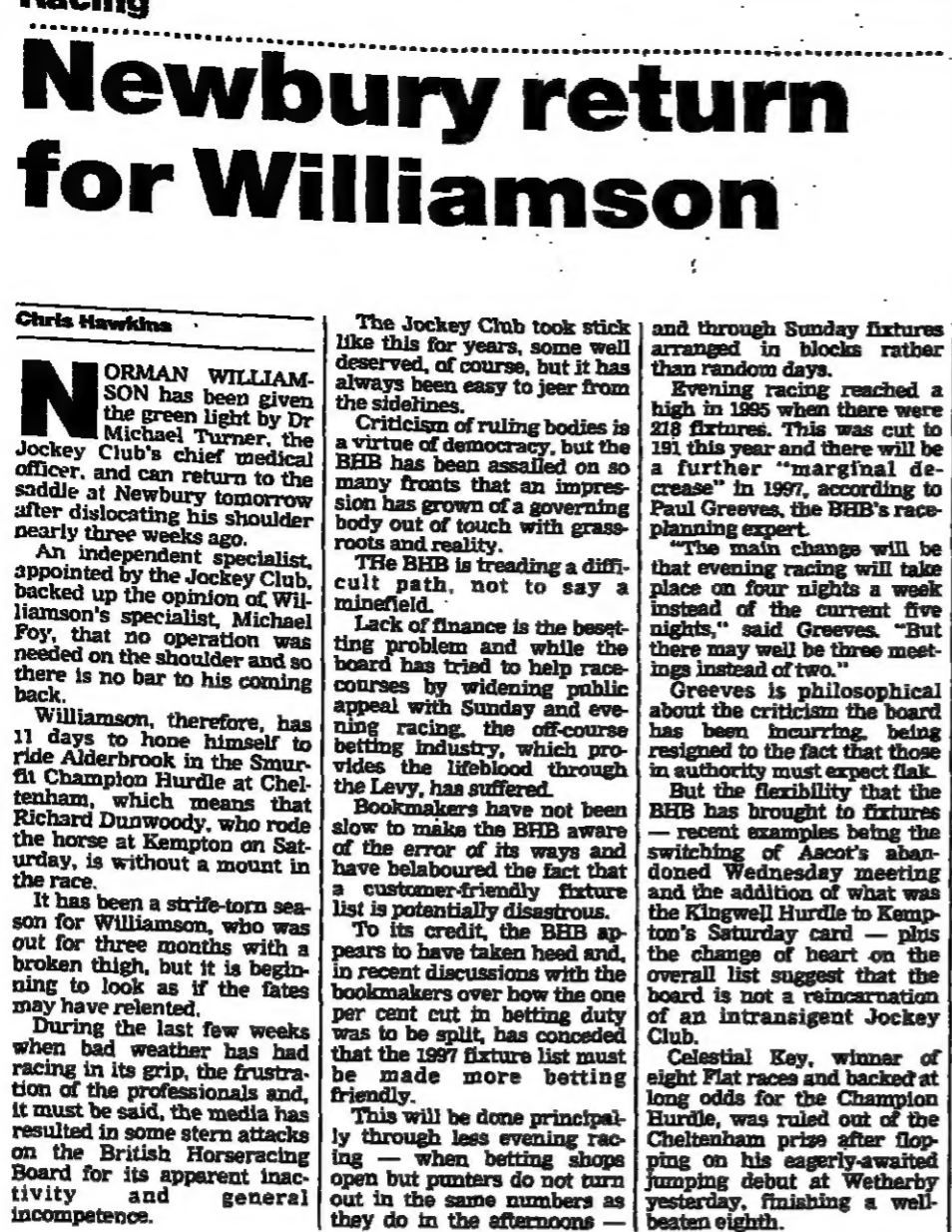
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Rider banned
CONDITIONAL jockey Eddie Callaghan received a one-day ban for careless riding on Thursday Night, returning to 50-1 shot Our Robert in yesterday's Northern Electric Novice Hurdle at Wetherby. The race featured a 1-2-3 for Jimmy Fitzgerald's stable.

Results
TAUNTON
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FA CUP FIFTH ROUND

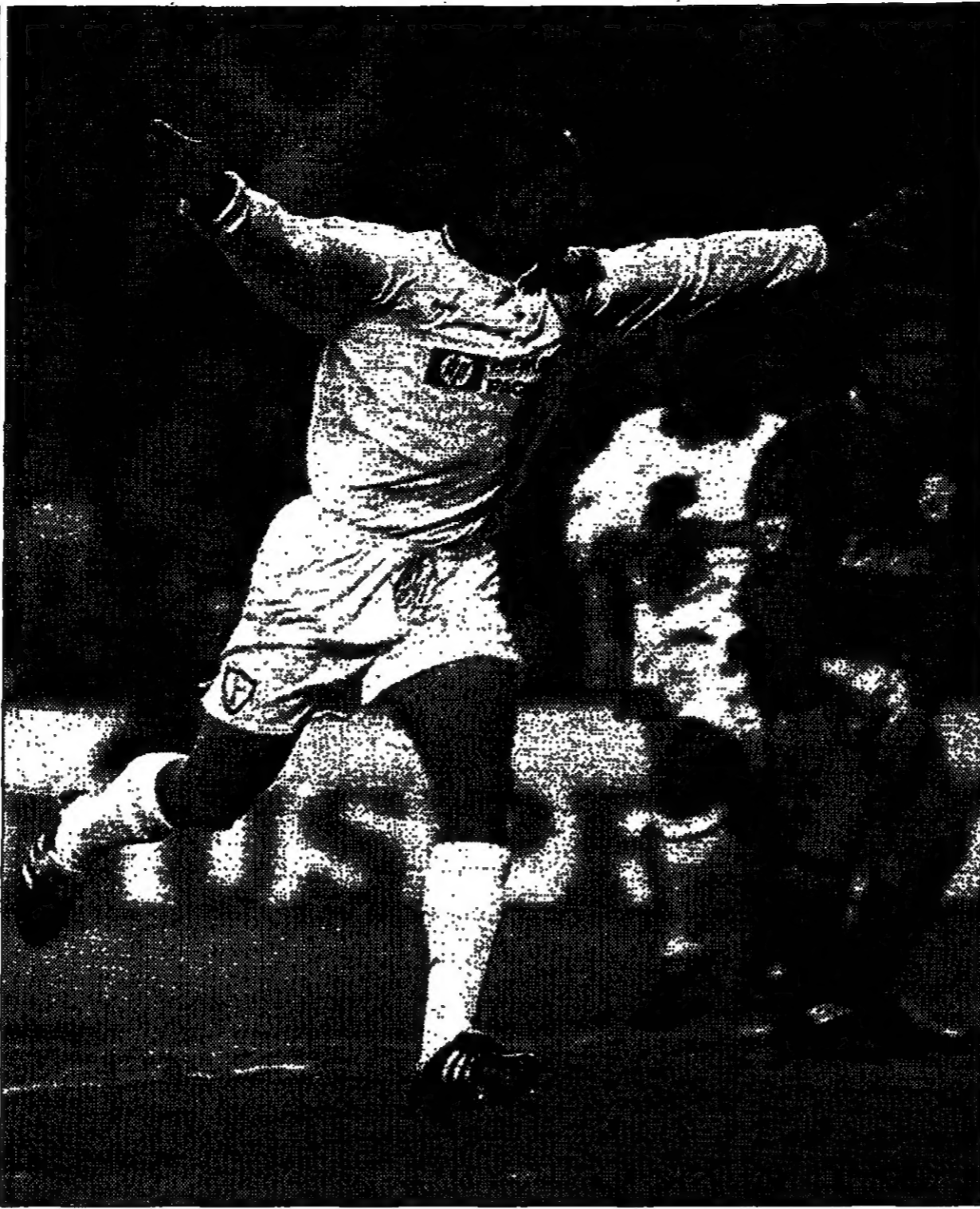
Nottingham Forest 2, Tottenham Hotspur 2

Woan finds shots of inspiration

David Lacey

TWO free-kicks from the left foot of Ian Woan both inspired and revived Nottingham Forest at the City Ground last night...

wood's long kick with a nod across goal for the unmarked Armstrong to glance the ball past Crossley.



Lift off... Armstrong celebrates his first goal and Spurs equaliser at the City Ground

Liverpool 2, Charlton Athletic 1

Collymore has killer touch

Ian Ross

THERE is nothing quite like the experience, particularly in the rarified atmosphere of the FA Cup...

terly compelling. Charlton wobbled as early as the second minute and by the time Liverpool had eased themselves in front on 12 minutes...

Replay: Chelsea 4, Grimsby Town 1

Duberry blooms in Chelsea show

Martin Thorpe

THE Mariners were fish out of water at Stamford Bridge last night. Chelsea gave the First Division side a thoroughly professional battering...

brave and agile saves to deny, in order, Peacock, Wis, Spencer and Peacock again.

Replay: Wimbledon 3, Huddersfield Town 1

Goodman leaves Terriers gasping

Jeremy Alexander

FOR the third round of the FA Cup, Wimbledon won a replay at Selhurst Park and they can look forward to making it four in the next round against Chelsea...

Ekoku's pace made a mockery of a supposed groin injury as he continued to trouble the defence.

the angled running of Collins, Jepsen and Booth but shots were hurried and astray until Jepsen skimmed the bar from a distance.

Replay: Southampton 2, Swindon Town 0

Matt mark II sets up Southampton's away day to Old Trafford

Paul Weaver

SOUTHAMPTON, with Second-half goals from Matthew Oakley and Neil Shipperley, ultimately won with some comfort against a resolute Swindon side...

The Second Division leaders, with five men at the back and midfielders and forwards always available to man the sandbags...

Southampton went ahead three minutes later. Colverhouse underhit his back pass to let in Watson...

Premiership: Aston Villa 2, Blackburn R 0

Superior Villa have final say

Stephen Bierley

ONCE a team has reached Wembley there is almost inevitably a period, however brief, when the players find it extremely difficult to raise their game...

record at Wood Park — 11 championship wins out of 14 — to secure a decent place in this largely disappointing post-championship season.

Results

Table listing football results for various leagues including FA Cup, First Division, and Second Division.

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE

Table listing results for the Endsleigh League, including First Division and Second Division.

RUSSIAN CUP

Table listing results for the Russian Cup, including First Division and Second Division.

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FA CUP FIFTH ROUND

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Duberry blooms in Chelsea show

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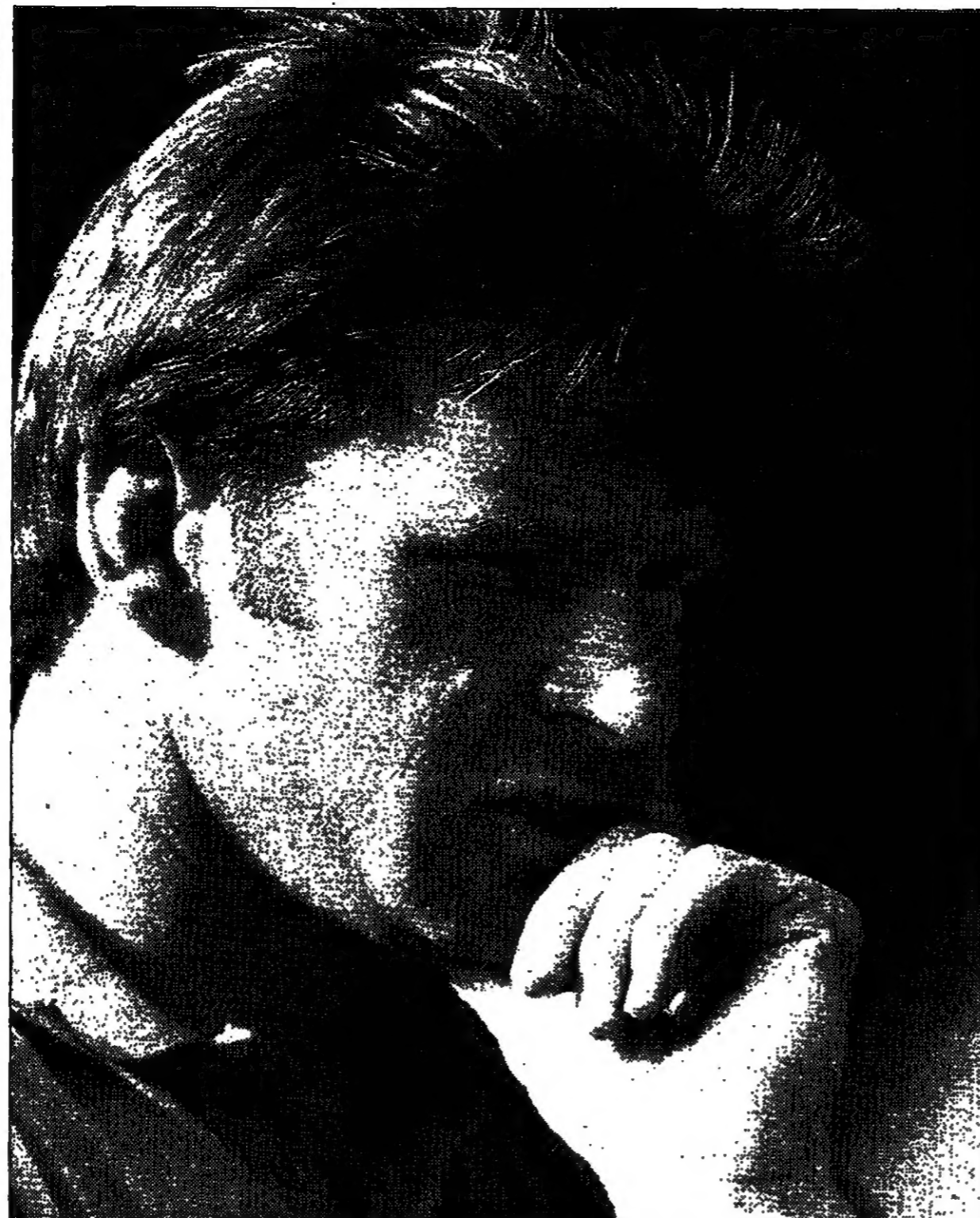
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Cepelak... Faldo's Eurydice

'You ask for privacy and they listen in to your phone calls and they sit outside your house for months. It's not nice knowing that 300 yards away there's someone with a lens trained on you waiting for the picture they want.'

David Davies on the annus horribilis of Britain's leading golfer



Back in the frame... a content Nick Faldo defends his Doral Ryder Open title in Miami

# Old Nick in tabloid hell

NICK FALDO is now, he says, "emotionally happy, content". On the eve of the Doral Ryder Open, here in Miami, he is preparing to defend a title he won 12 months ago, but this time with the support of 21-year-old Brenna Cepelak, the former student for whom he left his wife of 10 years, Gill.

"courtesy of the British tabloids". Faldo's friendship with Cepelak was revealed shortly after the Ryder Cup, during which Faldo played superbly and Gill behaved magnificently. Faldo's captain, Bernard Gallacher, in a recent Golf World interview, said: "Her attitude in the run-up to Oak Hill and during the Cup itself made all this possible... any spiteful wife would have been throwing bricks his way all week. Not once has she done anything like that. I admire Nick entirely on the course and I admire Gill completely off it."

"You ask for privacy and they listen in to your phone calls and they sit outside your house for months. It's not nice sitting inside knowing that 300 yards away there's someone with a lens trained on you, waiting for the picture they want. It's incessant. Brenna once had 27 messages on her answering machine, all the same, all from the same guy. They just want to wear you down."

45th in the US Open, 40th in the Open and 31st in the US PGA. Nevertheless, it was only six months after he had met Cepelak in Tucson in January that Faldo hit a shot he will remember all his life. It came at the desperately difficult 18th of Doral's Blue Monster course and it won him the Doral Ryder Open. All he had to do was hit a three-wood absolutely straight, deviating not an inch, 330 yards, the last few of them over water, and fly the ball high enough to stop it almost dead on the glass-fast green.

his Harley Davidson motorbike, nor, as he could have done, in his \$1 million motor launch. Nor did he use any of his seven Ferraris, nor the more appropriate vehicle for this de-luxe resort, his Rolls-Royce. He descended on us in the shiniest, slickest helicopter — jet black with the name SHARK picked out in gold letters — that even Doral has seen. Entrance made, he went out, played nine holes against Jack Nicklaus, Fred Couples and Raymond Floyd, won \$20,000 of the \$25,000 available, and took to the skies again.

# James off slippery slope

Michael Brittan in Tarragona

A TASTE of the high life has given Mark James a fresh appetite for the start of his 21st season on the PGA European Tour when the Catalan Open tees off at the Bonnouet course near here today.

when he practised for the new season on snow-covered ground near his Hickey home last week. "I have no idea what shape my game will be in," he said. "I concentrate on holding the club by the rubbery end and making sure I take a divot after the ball."

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## Sport in brief

**Ice Hockey**  
Wayne Gretzky has confirmed his long-rumoured move to St Louis Blues from Los Angeles Kings. The 35-year-old Canadian, nine times named the NHL's Most Valuable Player, was traded for three young players plus a first-round draft choice for 1997. "I'm emotionally drained to leave LA," he said, "but I'm excited to play in St Louis." The Blues later named Gretzky team captain.

**Cricket**  
Warwickshire have given a one-year contract to the 26-year-old Australian Michael Redmond, an England-qualified pace bowler from Sydney who helped his adopted

## Athletics

**Absentees give youth a fling in Stockholm**  
Stephen Blorrey

FOR the vast majority of Britain's leading athletes absentees in the European indoor championships in Stockholm have never figured in their plans during this Olympic year. So inevitably there was an under-strength look about the original team of 28 announced yesterday — and an even weaker look a few hours later when the hurdler Tony Jarrett and Scotland's 400 metres runner Melanie Nest pulled out.

## Basketball

**Russia go on the rampage to humble weakened England**  
Christian Bright in Moscow

THE worst fears of the England coach Lesio Nemeth were realised in the huge CSKA sports arena here last night when Russia humbled the 114-59. It rendered all but academic English hopes in the European Championship.

## Cricket

# Russell set to be sacrificed

Mike Selwyn in Karachi

A LEC STEWART could be set to resume his wicket-keeping role as England strive to find a winning formula for Sunday's match here against Pakistan, their last chance to gain some form before the World Cup knock-out stages.

Until Jack Russell's return in South Africa last winter, Stewart had been a regular wicketkeeper in limited-overs internationals, and also in Tests. As a genuine all-rounder, he allowed England the option of playing either a full hand of specialist bowlers or an extra batsman.

Stewart kept wicket in the first two of the seven one-day internationals in South Africa before giving way to Russell for the remainder of the series.

Russell had already forced his way back into favour with some outstanding performances during the Test series, in the course of which he broke the world record for the number of dismissals in a Test.

But it was still his vastly improved if idiosyncratic batting — which swung from defiant blocking in the famous stand with Mike Atherton in the Wanderers "test to some exhilarating improvisation in the fourth one-day international at Centurion, where his unbeaten 39 came from only 19 balls — that kept him in favour.

Since then, though, his keeping has retained its sharpness while his batting has lost its edge, with only 14 runs coming from his two innings so far.

The problem has been compounded by the batting form of Stewart, who with scores of 34, 23, 5 and 7 has disap-

pointed not just in the lack of runs but the consistently careless manner of his dismissals. These culminated in a schoolboy error in the last match against South Africa, when he failed to ground his bat taking a quick single and was run out.

Lack of concentration, particularly when playing well, is a trait that has characterised much of his career: sometimes the game looks too easy for him. However, Stewart could be expected to score more runs than Russell and that should carry the vote.

Should Russell stand down, there would still need to be discussion over Stewart's position in the batting order. So far, England have tried three different opening combinations (Atherton-Stewart, Stewart-Smith and Atherton-Smith) without finding one that gives them a brisk but solid start.

Now, with the experiment of using Neil Smith as a pinch-hitter deemed a failure by the manager Raymond Ilkerton, England, particularly against an attack that contains Wasim Akram and Waqar Younis, should revert to an orthodox pairing.

Whether Stewart should accompany Atherton, however, is debatable. In the past, he has carried off the dual roles of opener and keeper adequately, although it remains an unsatisfactory arrangement when England bat second after a trying session in the field.

Instead, Stewart could find himself down the order, in a position that would separate the two left-handers, Graham Thorpe and, should he play (his form is also disastrous), Neil Fairbrother.

A virtually runless Atherton could find himself opening with Robin Smith, who has yet to pick up a bat in anger since South Africa, and who, despite his power, is no panacea, with a restricted range of strokes.

Viv Richards has criticised Richie Richardson's captaincy on the eve of today's match against Kenya in Pune. In a column in The Times of India, the former captain said: "[One] reason for the decline in the West Indian cricket is lack of leadership."

He continued: "Richie Richardson is not doing too well and he seems to have allowed things to deteriorate, due to which people have started taking advantage."

Brian Lara, Richards said, would be the ideal candidate. The batsman has got "everything in the making to be a good captain. He has the confidence, he is a match-winner and he is a run-getter. Brian might look a little laid-back, but he has got a wonderful knowledge of the game."

## Rugby Union

# Rowell takes it all in his stride

Robert Armstrong

JACK ROWELL yesterday insisted he was still enjoying the job of England manager and said he felt no pressure from the recent torrent of criticism. As his team began the countdown to Saturday's Grand Slam decider with Scotland, Rowell defended his decision to keep yesterday's training session private, a break with the traditional openness of Wednesdays.

"There are tactical issues we want to address in private," he admitted. "We [the coaches] don't have a great deal of time with the players and we want to use what we've got to look at certain ways of building a rhythm and a pattern."

"As for motivation, that has to come from within the group of players themselves — if it's not already in the dressing room it's not going to be there [in the game]."

It was not a cause for anxiety that some forwards would be playing out of position at Murrayfield, added Rowell. "There's no reason why Jason Leonard, for instance, cannot play at tight-head, where he performed very successfully for the Lions [in 1993]. Also Ben Clarke has played many games at flanker as well as No. 8."

## Referees threaten to strike

# Referees threaten to strike

Ian Mallin

REFEREES in Wales, who feel left behind in the professional era, may dismiss themselves in a row over expenses.

Members of the Cardiff district of the Welsh Society of Referees have voted to support a call from West district to consider strike action. The motion will now be put to a full meeting of the society tomorrow.

The dispute with the Welsh Rugby Union centres on the referees' travelling allowance which they want increased from 26p to 40p per mile. The officials also want to be able to claim for kit, boots and bags which they say would bring them into line with referees in other countries.

Brian Davies, the society's secretary, said: "There is a feeling that referees are being left behind. Referees are very much the poor relations of the game."

Ken Rowlands, the WRU's referees' development officer, said the Union was trying to reach an amicable settlement. "I should point out that we are the only Union to have a national sponsorship scheme for our referees who all receive two jerseys, two pairs of shorts and a track suit."

Peter Glessey, the Ireland prop suspended for 26 playing weeks for stamping on the France lock Olivier Roumat 12 days ago, will have his case discussed at a meeting of the Irish Rugby Football Union today.

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# Sports Guardian

## CHAMPION STEELED FOR REVENGE AGAINST IRON MIKE

### Bruno has the edge in battle of words

FRANK BRUNO enjoyed a distinct cutting edge in the first verbal sparring in Las Vegas before he defends his World Boxing Council heavyweight title against Mike Tyson on March 16.

Irritated during yesterday's news conference by the seemingly bored Iron Mike and his heckling entourage, Bruno later questioned whether Tyson had learned anything while serving a 3-year prison sentence for rape.

"I thought prison was supposed to wise you up and make you a better man," said Bruno. "He's getting worse, he's honest, both in the ring and out of the ring."

Bruno had refused to get involved in a shouting match with Tyson's henchmen, but later criticised the former undisputed champion for his group's actions. "The entourage around him are bad people. There's not one ounce of class among them. And after I finish with Mike Tyson they're going to disappear."

The 34-year-old Briton may be an 8-1 shot to beat Tyson, but he was pulling no punches during the conference at the MGM Grand Hotel.

On a word count, a confident Bruno won this contest handsomely as the Americans screeched to answer even the most basic question.

Tyson stopped Bruno in the fifth round when they met seven years ago. But that will not happen this time, declared Bruno, when he makes his first defence of the title he

captured from Oliver McCall in September.

"I can't wait to get my hands on him. I rocked him the first time we fought; I'll rock him to sleep this time," said Bruno. "I'm not coming to disgrace myself. I'm going back home with my belt."

Bruno, fresh from his training camp in the Canary Islands, then weighed up his chances of revenge. "I am 210 per cent better since the last time I fought Tyson. I'm stronger and I'm heavier."

Bruno was 16st 2lb when they last fought. He now tips the scales at 17st 1lb.

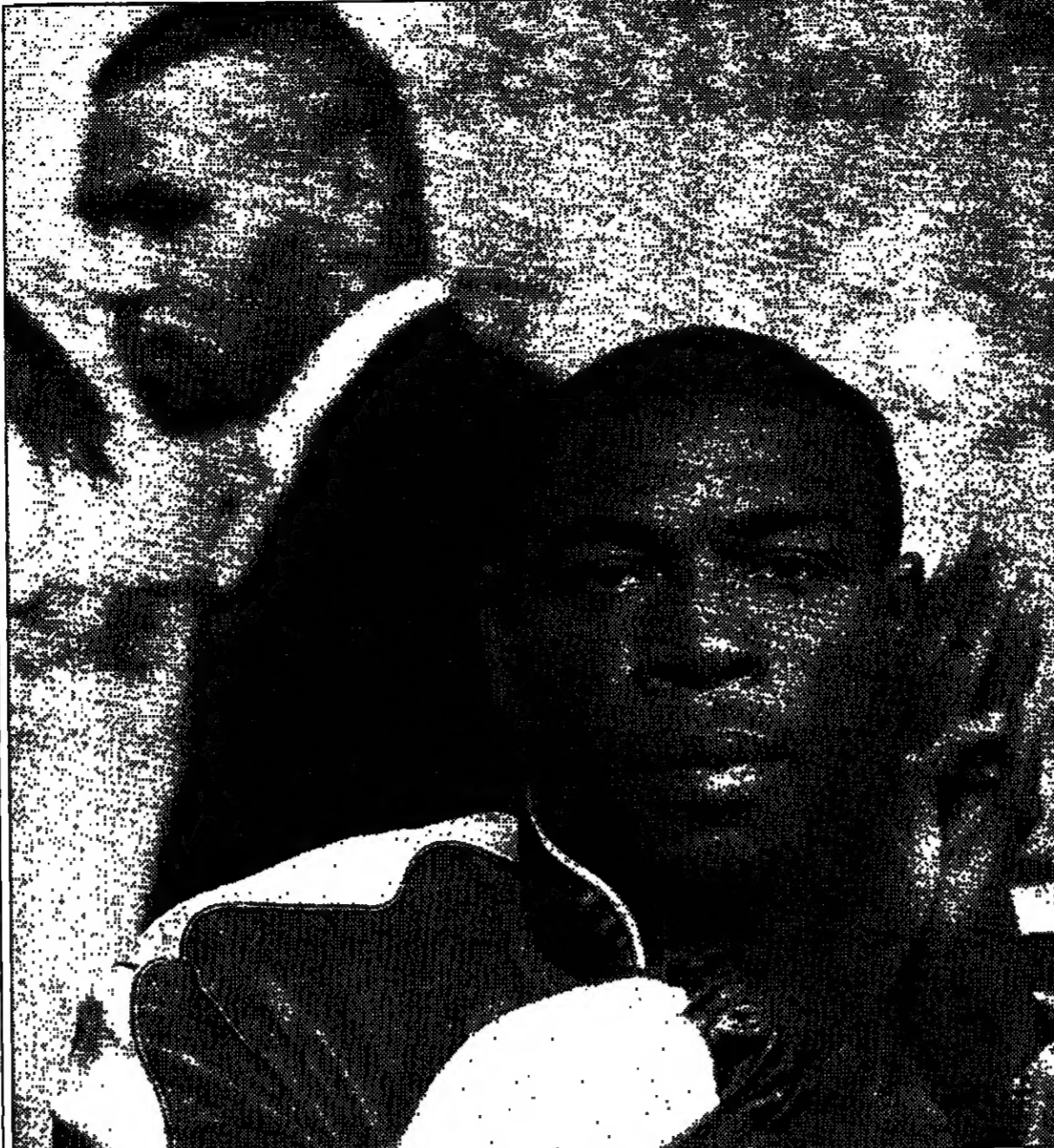
"I am at the top of the mountain and I'm going to stay on top. I'll still be champion," added Bruno.

The Briton's prediction brought a low-key response from Tyson. "It's interesting Frank Bruno's talking brave and courageous, but I beat him once and I'll beat him again. I'm confident of my capabilities."

The 29-year-old American was backed by his co-manager John Horne. "Mike's the greatest ass-kicker of all time. We've seen nothing that makes us believe Mike's anything less than what he was."

Tyson's other manager, Rory Holloway, weighed in with equal confidence. "I don't think Mike will have any problem at all. Bruno couldn't beat Mike in 100 years. It'll be a quick fight. Nothing's changed."

Tyson, who has been training in Las Vegas for several weeks for his third fight since leaving prison last March, is



Shadow of Tyson... but Bruno insists he will still be in the foreground after defending his WBC title on March 16

2-1 to take Bruno's title. Bruno is getting around £4 million to meet Tyson, with the challenger said to be on £20 million. Bruno is reportedly upset about not receiving a percentage of the television rights in Britain, where

Sky has selected the fight for its first pay-per-view screening.

"I'm not a greedy man, but Tyson is getting 16 to 20 times more than I'm getting," said Bruno. "Would you be happy if you were the champion and

were being treated like the challenger?"

It took Bruno nearly 14 years and four title contests before finally winning a world title, capturing the WBC crown when he defeated McCall on points at Wembley Stadium in September.

"I would have liked to defend it in England. I would have rather stayed home, but I'm a professional," said Bruno. "I'm not afraid to fight him in his home, or in the prison where he was."

### Homely idol from the golden age



Frank Keating

FORTY years on, possibly to the very day, yesterday was by touching like precisely the same sort of blue-bright and bony late winter's day on the Cotswolds as it had been in 1966. The moment I heard the news I remembered, as wrenchingly as if it was only last week, how the nerves had knotted my stomach as I pushed my old Raleigh boneshaker up past Bulls Cross and Camp Hill to Misarden, hidden and honeyed and high above Stroud on the Birdlip road.

She'd obviously tell me to clear off. Or, even worse, what if she didn't? What if I can't think of a question? Any road, why should she talk to a berk like me when she's used to being interviewed over umbrellas and dimers by Fleet Street's finest, my heroes?

"She's shy of the press," Geoffrey had said when ordering me not to telephone first. "Don't give her a chance to make excuses, laddie, just get up there and ambush her and bring me back 1,000 words." A thousand. I don't think I even knew that many.

Geoffrey was the belligerent (and to be beloved) former editor of the Stroud News and I was his brand new cub in my first week. The day before he had taken a long slurp of Scotch, wiped his moustache on his sleeve, fixed me with bloodshot gaze and announced he wanted a new column. Personality of the Week, and I could begin it with a bang by going up to see how Stroud's most famous personality was getting on.

television pin-up. In the early Fifties the first mass audience sat by their firesides in front of their fuzzy monochrome screens and, although not knowing a halter from a hind leg, they cheered on this slightly dumpy, apple-cheeked country gel and her string of homely horses.

accompanied by Dorian Williams' even more thoroughbred vowels. "Five to go... the water, safely over... the wall... now the final difficult treble... now Pat... she's over!... she's clear! Oh, well done, Pat!"

The girl who was so good to me that day was the girl who took on the men, the girl with little money who schooled her own horses to take on the millionaires, and who that same summer became the first woman to ride at an Olympic Games. She came back from Sweden with a bronze in the team event and won an OBE.

HER father, an electrical engineer, had died in the war. In 1962 she lost her mother, who was killed driving to Stroud station on the wickedly steep bend below Slad's Woolpack Inn and Laurie Lee's cottage.

That day of my first ever interview Pat was still alone in her grief, compensated only by her headstrong athlete Gary Llewellyn and Foxhunter's showjumping was in its only golden age.

Last saw her about 10 years ago, still commuting for long chunks of each year between the spiky grandeur of her late husband Sam Koechlin's Swiss Alps and her mellow Midwestern home. She sat me down, put an old spaniel in my lap and, giggling softly, let me interview her properly. Could she have done it today?

"Not all alone nor, as I had to, on a shoestring. But I think we had more fun. I made my sport my education. I loved art and opera as much as my horses. When they said go and compete somewhere I said, 'oh goodie, Madrid means the Prado' or 'Paris means a few more rooms at the Louvre' or 'Milan means I can ride Tosca in the afternoons and go and hear it in the evenings'. I can't see our Olympic showjumpers thinking like that nowadays. Well, the sponsors wouldn't let them."

Her autobiography was called *Jumping for Joy*.

Obituary, page 10

## Direct from the Royal Mint

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### Arsenal may pay for their bad boys

MAYBE it was David Hillier's bag snatch at Gatwick that did it. Or the fruity confessions of David Seaman's estranged wife. Or George Graham's alleged hang. Then again, it might have been Paul Merson's drink-and-drug binge or Ray Parlour's assault of a Hong Kong taxi driver, writes Neil Robinson.

There seem no shortage of suspects to blame for JVC's decision to reconsider their tie-up - soccer's longest sponsorship deal - with a club whose public

### Thirty years ago, when the Queen was in Melbourne, she went to the races and all the young ladies turned their backs to the horses to gaze up at her, gasping with excitement when she dropped her hankie. This was an Australia still linked umbilically to the mother country.

## G2 cover story

### Guardian Crossword No 20,588

Set by Rufus

**Across**

- 1 Beating the retreat (6)
- 4 Unnatural cunning (6)
- 9 Land that lies around in the water? (4)
- 10 Overdraw an account (10)
- 11 Creature found wild in Manila (6)
- 12 The Poles are, but not the N and S ones (8)
- 13 Listen to a spot of rain falling from the roof (5)
- 15 I left to start work (4)
- 16 Chief part of the foot (4)
- 17 Not enough money even for a brief trip (5)
- 21 What a horse trainer does is to check any vices (6,2)
- 22 Club porter (5)
- 24 Still lacking subject for debate (10)
- 25 Club for evening out (4)

**Down**

- 1 A word of praise (7)
- 2 Fancy woman upset, is under the doctor (5)
- 3 Outside left required to be prodded into action (7)
- 5 Look upon with respect (6)
- 6 Not to be made light of (5)
- 7 Drop of leave before autumn (3,4)
- 8 Don't seize opportunities to be safely conscious? (4,2,7)
- 14 Such a rite is suited to a solemn sacrament (5)
- 16 Where you may see duty-free wine on display (7)
- 18 Changes roles? (7)
- 19 Displayed - a willingness to invest? (4,3)

**20** Period of redemption, states article on church (6)

**23** Go for the green (5)

**CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,587**

**Solution tomorrow**

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